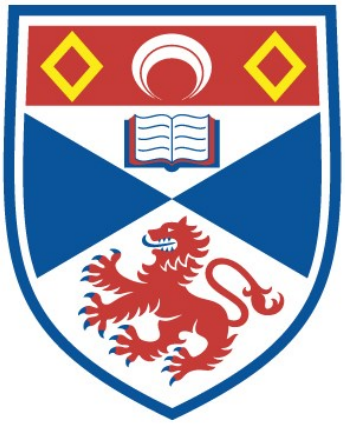
A STUDY OF ANGLO-SCOTTISH RELATIONS, 1637-43

Elizabeth A. Menzies

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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"A STUDY OF ANGLO-SCOTTISH RELATIONS, 1637-43"

being a Thesis presented by

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to the University of St. Andrews

in application for the degree of Ph.D.

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the following Thesis is based on research carried out by me, that the Thesis is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree.

The Research was carried out in St. Andrews, London, Somersetshire, Devonshire, York and Edinburgh.

Certificate

I certify that Elizabeth A. Menzies has spent nine terms at Research Work in History, that she has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance No. 16 (St. Andrews) and that she is qualified to submit the accompanying Thesis in application for the degree of Ph.D.

Career

I matriculated in the University of St.Andrews in the Faculty of Arts and followed a course leading to graduation in Arts until June 1949, when I took the degree of M.A. with Second-Class Honours in the joint school of History-English.

In October 1949 I commenced the research on "Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1637-43" which is now being submitted as a Ph.D. Thesis.

For the two academic years 1950-51 and 1951-52 I held a Carnegie Research Scholarship and a University Fellowship of the Institute of Historical Research, London.

For the academic year 1952-53 I held a post as temporary lecturer in the Department of History, University College, Dundee.

Acknowledgment

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Contents

INTRODUCTION

These two countries have now for long been one; Great Britain, famed for and priding itself on a free and peaceful Parliamentary government, with a monarch powerful only emotionally, and self-rule through elected representatives. It is often said that this was the inevitable culmination of their history: that the march of events was steadily directed through time towards that end. England had always fought for freedom: at the appointed time Scotland joined the battle, and in this union they achieved freedom and have since perfected it. A smooth and suitable version of history, this; but accurate - no. There were no positive ideals in Stuart England, but instead, fear of Popery and dislike of taxes; the alliance with Scotland, an unnatural co-operation between hereditary enemies, was forced from circumstance by a few determined men whose ambitions misfired with that alliance, which brought no good to either side, but intolerance, persecution and subjection to a tyranny worse than anything either side had known.

It is all too easy, standing on a height above the river of history, to look telescope-wise at the other, distant height where in the earliest records is the source; too easy to suppose that the river flows in a straight course from one to the other, beneath the mists of time which blow across the valley. But history is not a canal. Like any strong river, it has its twists and turns through the miles of the ages, fortuitous bends, eddies round stiff obstacles, slower and faster stretches, even an occasional tunnel underground.

Tributaries come in to the main stream, sometimes with a sharp enough current to divert it from its course: sometimes a natural dam restrain a strong flow for a while before it is swept by the mounting flood into the violence of a waterfall. The river itself develops the whirlpools dips and shallows that alter its movement and give it character and interest. From any point of time along the river, its general direction can be traced, but no view from any height of observation will show a straight line. The view ahead is much more restricted even than the experimental chart of the way it has come, and dogmatic historians would do well to remember that so it has always been. Now and again, at the roughest reaches, the voyagers have heard ahead the waterfalls of war, but on the whole, their way ahead - mapped out now and easy for us to trace - has been as much a mystery to them as we feel ours to be now.

So it was in 1637. There were no signs of an imminent alliance between Scotland and England to overthrow their King - no signs of alliance of any sort. Troubles there were in each country, and some threatened to be very serious, but there was no general idea that the troubles and remedies of the two countries might be the same, as indeed they had no more common origin than the instinct in every man to resist whoever will deprive him of what he values most. It is just possible, as we shall see, that a very few discontented men of one Kingdom had approached a very few in the other, but there were probably

no more than a score of men who considered that events across the Border could have any influence on their side of it, or who would wish such a state of affairs. It was not until 1635 that the "Letter Office of England and Scotland" was established and a regular system of communication set up. "To this time" says the Proclamation, "there has been no certain or constant intercourse between England and Scotland" - that is, for thirty-two years of union the two countries had not even developed the mild mutual interest of a G.P.O.[1]

Since the Union of the Crowns, active war had ceased to be a consideration, but neither people thought well of its neighbour. England steadily refused trading equality to the poorer Scots, and was irritated by the influx of Scots courtiers at one end of the social scale, and vagrants at the other. As Warden of the Fleet, Sir Nicholas Stoddard had opportunities to meet many Scots of both types, and he felt strongly about it: "That the Kingdom of England never prospered since a Scot governed the same, and that never any good came where a Scot governed, and that the basest Englishman was better than the best Scottishman".[2] Scotland was ever alert for slurs on its touchy, smaller-nation pride, and constantly feared attempts to reduce it to a province - the King's continued absence lending weight to this. "The Nation had for many hundred years enjoyed Kings of their own ... which made them discontentedly mutter that they should now become a Province, and be governed by an English Lieut. or Deputy".[3]

James the Peacemaker's hope of a closer union between the two old enemies was disappointed: England flatly refused it, and Scotland scarcely concealed its satisfaction. The Scots Council's formal regrets refer to "that Union so greatly hated by them and so little affected by us",[4] and the prevailing attitude up to the outbreak of Scottish defiance continued to be one of detachment and distrust. Clarendon bears witness to both. "The Kingdom of Scotland had long been jealous, that by the King's continued absence from them, it should by degrees be reduced to be but as a province to England and subject to their laws and government, which it would never submit to: nor would any man of honour, who loved the King best and respected England most, ever consent to bring that dishonour upon his country. If the very liturgy, in the terms it is constituted and practised in England, should be offered to them, it would kindle and inflame that jealousy, as the prologue and introduction to that design, and as the first rung of the ladder, which should serve to mount over all their customs and privileges, and be opposed and detested accordingly." As for England, "Under King James, the mingling with a stranger nation, formerly not very gracious with this, which was like to have more interest of favour: the subjection to a stranger prince, whose nature and disposition they knew not ... rendered the calm and tranquillity of that time less equal and pleasant. ... The truth is, there was so little curiosity either in the court or the country, to know any thing of Scotland or what was

done there, that when the whole nation was solicitous to know what passed weekly in Germany and Poland, and all other parts of Europe, no man ever enquired what was doing in Scotland nor had that Kingdom a place of mention in one page of any gazette, so little the world heard or thought of that people."[5]

The only notice taken of one country by the other was when their interests clashed. We find an occasional individual in trouble: "Alan Leighton, a Scottish man born, sentenced (in 1630) by the Star Chamber to pay a great fine and to undergo corporal punishment for publishing a very libellous book against the King and his government"[6]: "James Nalton of St. Mary Colechurch, London lecturer, admits that in christening two children ... instead of saying the words in the Prayer Book, 'I sign thee with the sign of the cross', he said, 'I sign thee with the seal of the covenant'".[7] But more frequent are the troubles of trade, with the respective Governments stiffly supporting their countrymen. "George Lord Dupplin, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, to Sec. Dorchester. A complaint has been made by Nathaniel Edward and his partners, patentees for the Greenland trade of Scotland, that their liberties have been violated by the Greenland Co. of London, their goods seized, their persons troubled, and their ships impeded, so that they have returned empty, which has bred a general grievance for want of oils, and consequently of soap. Begs him to take measures for repairing the complainants' losses." This

sufficiently sweeping accusation was promptly countered by one "from the Company of Adventurers to Greenland ... they have done no violence to the privileges of Scotland, but Edward has annoyed and molested the Company".[8] The rival Adventurers continued to squabble whenever they came within earshot. A little later, indeed, suggestively near the outbreak of real trouble, The Journeymen Printers of London petitioned against Scottish rivals, "Petitioners have suffered great misery through want of employment, an especial reason whereof is the multitude of bibles and other books printed in Scotland and transported hither ... Pray Sir John (Lambe) to stand their friend in the suppressing of the importation of all sorts of books out of Scotland".[9] In other words, the two peoples' mutual desire, and only mutual desire, was to have as little contact as possible.

Charles' Kingdoms, then, before 1637, were concerned with problems of their own. In England, though Clarendon denies that they originated before Charles' reign, these problems had been accumulating for many years, in fact, since the great national fear which rallied the country behind a protective Tudor despotism had been assuaged, and a safe peace had allowed reaction. This, coming at a time when economic difficulties made quite impracticable the always difficult theory that a King should pay his government's way out of his own resources, naturally took the form of questioning royal claims. Elizabeth, whose tact amounted to genius, had handled the first questions superbly; the

canny James, pocketing his magnificent theories, had at least kept his head above water. Unfortunately the King in whose reign the rapids were reached was the last man to swim with the tide. Royal prerogative was tacitly recognized as the power, and the duty, to fill gaps which discovered themselves within the framework of accepted law - the vexed question of what constituted a gap not having so far been publicly argued: Charles, however, believed in his Divine Right to decide this and every other question - flaunted his belief - and, finding Parliament opposed to it, applied it independently to reform the Church and to levy taxes.

These, of course, were the precise points where England would refuse to be led or driven. Religion, quickened by the blind, vicious fear of Popery, was jealously prized by men whose fathers remembered, where they themselves did not, the uproar over the Gunpowder Plot which had exploded out of half a century's struggle with Catholicism. Laud's rituals and ceremonies touched the ready fear in men whose Puritan tenets misled a foreign observer into reckoning that "three-fifths of England belong to the Calvinist sect"[10], and the method of enforcement by metropolitan visitation was doubly unwelcome through its suggestion of centralized authority. With its bad roads, self-supporting communities and few trade centres, England was still a collection of mutually unknown counties where foreigners lived a mere twenty miles away. Local great men saw to local government, and

reports to or interference by an overriding power were never popular. This intense local feeling, which was to wreck so many plans of Civil War commanders, showed itself also in the inland counties' objections to ship-money, and deferred the day when the discontent over Charles' various ingenious money-raising schemes could be focussed and put to use.

After all, the murmurings about religion were not likely to give serious trouble on their own; the country was at peace, in happy contrast to Europe, and prosperous on the whole. The "Eleven Years' Tyranny" was nowhere so considered - for Parliament was not yet the people's god - except among the landed Puritans whose fortunes had been made by the monasteries' fall. These were the men, greedy, ambitious, who found themselves excluded from the powers and perquisites of government, compelled to see the land's high places given to creatures of the King; the men who must have trembled for the Church settlement on which their estates depended, and been alarmed into rage to realise that without control in a Parliament of the money-strings they might be taxed to ruin by prerogative. Some among those men had the determination to act upon their fears; and they did it, from first to last, by playing upon the fears latent throughout the country.

It became an idee fixe with both sides in the English Civil War to secure the help of the Scots. Although this was contrary to every feeling and precedent, and never failed to bring disaster in its

train, the contemporary troubles in Scotland seemed an obvious pointer that way: the more so, to the anti-royalists, as a very little editing of the facts would make it appear that the peoples were brothers in misfortune. They were both, in fact, set against any hint of "Popery" to be forced on their church, and their landowners all feared that Charles would try to restore to the Church its past material wealth. The Scots were more vehement on both counts. Four generations of Calvinism had developed a Kirk which was an effective democratic organisation and an austere compelling religion which gave the impression of "consisting in an entire detestation of popery and hating perfectly the persons of all papists; and I doubt all others who did not hate them".[11] As for the men who now owned the spoils of the Church - among them were most of the landowners in Scotland, and at their head were the Scottish nobles, whose forebears for centuries had been accustomed to take and hold, by sword in battle or assassin's dagger, in the teeth of whatever noble was called King. Such a tradition of lawless intrigue could hardly be outworn by the one reign of clerical rule which had given them this new stake to fight for.

The fact was that in Scotland even more than in England religion and politics were inseparable. Scottish politics were centred on religious subjects and carried on with religious fervour: Scottish religion was administered and guided by politicians for political ends. This state of things had prevailed since the Reformation of 1560, and

had its roots much further back, in the mediaeval conception of "the two powers" - dual government by Church and State - which survived in Scotland long after England had struck out on another line. Andrew Melville, whose ideas dominated the Presbyterian Church, was a firm believer in this principle and always advocated the partnership of Church and State, intending that in the last resort the Church should be the dominant partner.

His Presbyterian Church had an organisation which fitted it to partner or to rival the civil government. There was no institutional support for the highly personal kingship of Scotland, such as the Tudors had in their Parliament: Scottish administration tended to retain a feudal separatism. Thus a King who tried to make his Kingship the main factor in government had only a narrow basis to work on and would find it, as James VI did, difficult to make his system comprehensive. He had two formidable rivals, the Church and the nobility. Scottish Kings had long been in the habit of manoeuvring for power by alliance with one of these against the other, with the unfortunate result that the Crown was reduced in stature to one of three antagonists: however, it remained the only course open, even when the Church became Presbyterian.

"Church versus State" was the sovereign question in Scotland from 1560 to 1707: but "State" was represented alternately by monarchy and nobility. The Reformed Church was established with the

essential help of the nobility, interested in profiting by the lands and revenues of displaced Catholics. Having produced a kind of Presbyterian feudalism, the alliance wore thin, and James VI was able to break it off for a time, by further playing one against the other. He not only re-introduced episcopacy, but established the bishops as members of Parliament - and, by inference, his jurisdiction over them and therefore over their Church. James' ambition reached further: he wanted to extend the uniformity in his two Kingdoms from matters of Church government to matters of worship. The five "Black Acts" of 1618, introducing various Anglican rituals, were the first of his reforms to affect the ordinary church members, and were bitterly resented. Immediately, the extreme Presbyterian party revived, and there were signs in the 1621 Parliament that it was renewing the old alliance with the nobility.

They too were recovering from their earlier defeat by James and beginning to feel actively resentful about his recent measures. He obviously meant to govern increasingly through the episcopate. Bishops were appearing in State positions, even on the Privy Council, and new bishoprics were under consideration. James was in England: so long as he ruled from there through the nobles, there would be no great objection from them, but government by English Archbishop and Scottish Bishops would certainly drive nobles and Presbyterians into each other's arms.

James retained enough political sense not to push his programme too far, when he saw the signs of resistance; but not so Charles. He carried out his father's wishes with disastrous thoroughness. Knowing nothing of Scotland, he neither left it alone - though it was now fit to be left - nor took the really expert advice which was available: instead he had recourse to the new Canterburian school of divines, disciples of Laud, Anglican-minded: the Scheme of Revocation was the result.

It was customary for each new monarch to revoke the grants of his predecessors: those affected usually bought themselves off, and the process was practically an accepted tax. Charles, however, proposed to revoke all former grants of Church land. His aim was honest and good: to clear up what had become a very vexed legal question, to end the harsh exactions of their tithes by the nobility, to provide an adequate stipend for the impoverished clergy - and a certain amount of revenue for the Crown. It was an enlightened and desirable measure, carefully worked out, and, even in its final amended form, of great benefit to clergy and landowners. But the chaos in land ownership had been highly profitable to the nobles. They fought the Revocation for four years: Charles defeated their bitter opposition by offering compensation and by the suspension of the Articles of Perth - a popular move: but the nobles never forgot it and its threat to the whole position of land tenure. The whole subject

called for the most careful handling; but instead of keeping it separate from politics, Charles joined it to the most inflammable subject, the new episcopacy. He decided to use some of his new revenue to set up a new Bishopric of Edinburgh. The Revocation combined with this use of its fruits drove the nobles into definite opposition. Charles was setting the bishops above Church and nobility too, using them to oust the nobles from the chief executive positions in Scots government: seven bishops became Privy Councillors, and the Scottish Primate became Chancellor. Charles intended to humble the nobles by this expression of his authority, but, not being a Louis XIV, he succeeded instead in creating a powerful focus of discontent outside his government. The Council was a much less effective body without the great nobles, who were driven to revive the old demand of their class to fill the very highest places - the demand that government should be carried on by constant contract between the crown and its great feudatories. This became the main secular point of the revolution.

This question of Bishops was the obvious link between the noble and the clerical opposition, for the Presbyterian Church also disapproved of the holding of civil offices by churchmen, believing that contact between Church and State should be made only at the very highest level. Also, the particular office of Bishop had unpopular Anglican connections, which drove most of the ordinary clergy to

support the strict Presbyterians in turning to the nobles for help against it.

Charles' visit to Scotland in 1633 provided the immediate causes of trouble. The Anglican ceremonies at his coronation, and his behaviour in the Parliament, were read and remembered as threats of "Popery" and autocracy, equally alien to the Scottish mind. Then a petition against the ecclesiastical acts, with hints against the whole system of government, was delivered to him by Lord Balmerino. Charles was so enraged by it that he had Balmerino tried under the Scots definition of treason. It was this trial, many contemporaries believed, which really began the Civil War. Balmerino was acquitted, by sheer force of public opinion: an astonishing phenomenon, which made a great and lasting impression on the mass of the people, and, a vital factor always in producing actual revolution, convinced them that they could make effective their strongest feelings.

Finally, into this explosive situation Charles threw the new Canons and Prayer Book. This too was the result of his coronation visit, when the lack of ceremony deceived Laud and himself into believing that the Scots had no religion. But in fact it was their religion which united the Scots, and when the Prayer Book seemed to attack it, the national and religious feelings of the country were so infuriated that the national leaders, the nobles and the ministers, could direct them as they willed. In spite of the fact that a good part of the

resistance to the Prayer Book was due to its coming from England, that direction was towards an English alliance.

Had this idea originated before the 1637 upheaval? Very possibly it had. In the smaller world of the seventeenth century, individual personalities had great influence on the course of events, and in England, where isolated local opinions had not for long years been publicly interchanged, an organised body of men accustomed to work together would have an immense advantage. Such an actively working group existed in the Providence Island Company. Among their directors were many of the influential men of position who afterwards headed opposition to Charles; the secretary was the future "King Pym". From 1630 these Puritan landowners were constantly meeting, discussing, formulating group opinions and accustoming themselves to enforce their ideas. It cannot be coincidence that these were also the men who moulded a Parliament unsure of itself into such another active body of opinions as occasionally appears though the Providence records - for instance, when the Governor is blamed for having grounded his authority "upon a supposed privilege which you call prerogative as annexed to your place ... neither do we like the use of that word".[12] Such men as Holland, Warwick, Saye, Brooke, Sir Ben Rudyard, Pym and St. John were not thus closely linked by accident.

It seems reasonable to suppose with Clarendon that Pym's patron, Bedford, the greatest Puritan "monastery lord", "intended to make himself and his friends great at court, not at all to lessen the court

itself".[13] A scheme not to deprive the King of his powers but to ensure that he exercised them to favour the scheming party was not without the bounds of imagination. In pre-Tudor days, it had in fact been part of the English tradition. It would be easy to realise that pressure on the King could only be exercised when want of money obliged him to call a Parliament. Prerogative government was financially practicable just as long as no sudden extra strain was thrown upon it. War would bring it down, or rebellion; no one would be anxious to expose his estates to the penalties of failure, but if it were tried out in Scotland first - ! A possible, practical train of thought might run thus, as did the train of events. Spalding avers boldly that after the 1633 Scots Parliament "followed a clandestine band drawn up and subscribed secretly betwixt the malcontents ... to make us Scots begin the play".[14] In the popular riots, the outcry for religion, the attack on evil counsellors, the idea of a bond or covenant, the open Parliamentary defiance, in every step of Scotland's along the path of rebellion, England presently followed.

There are various hints of an actual messenger discreetly dispatched across the Border to encourage the Scots leaders to a rising: such a messenger could slip across from one of the more northerly of the houses where the English plotters were said to gather. Saye's house of Broughton was too central for this, though not, apparently, for the general resort of these men. "The war was not preventive neither, on the House's part; but a design that had been

plotted long before, and was made ripe for execution, when there was neither ground nor colour to possess the people with the fancy, that the King intended force against them. For what purpose else did Sir Arthur Haselrigge and Mr. Pym sojourn two years together with Mr. Knightley, so near the habitation of the good Lord Saye?"[15] The house chosen was Fawsley in Northants, of this Mr. Knightly, according to Dugdale: "Consider what combinations were driven on divers years before, betwixt the most considerable members of the Puritan party in England, and the Grand-Contrivers there (in Scotland): Mr. Knightley's house in Northants being the chief place where that restless faction had their frequent meeting, whence a gentleman ..., was sent into Scotland",[16] Or the very northerly estate of the otherwise useless Haselrig may have been chosen: his lack of self-control and his terribly violent temper made him a strange choice to share such a discreet body of conspiracy. It is of some interest to notice that he figured as one of the 'Five Members' accused by Charles in January 1642 of inviting the Scots to invade England, although he had not yet taken any very prominent part in the troubles. Burnet avers that "They (the rebels) were also much encouraged to all that followed by the informations they had of the malcontents in England; for a gentleman of quality of the English nation, who was afterwards a great Parliament man, went and lived some time in Scotland before the troubles broke out, and represented to the men that had then the

greatest interest there, that the business of the ship-money and the Habeas Corpus with divers other things, of which there was much noise made afterwards, had so irritated the greatest part of the English nation, that if they made sure work at home, they needed fear nothing from England".[17] Dugdale, referring to this rumour, had a marginal note "Sir H. Vane". If he is correct, the time of the visit would be between Vane's return from Massachusetts in 1637 and his reconciliation with the authorities and appointment as Junior Treasurer to the Navy in 1639 - a period during which there is no record of his whereabouts or activities. In favour of this theory is Vane's undoubted popularity on his official first visit to Scotland in 1643, when he was the de facto leader of the Parliament's envoys and played the largest part in arranging the Solemn League and Covenant. "He" says Clarendon "contributed most to it and was the principal contriver of it"[18] and goes on to list the qualities which made him an excellent choice, and would have done so for this possible earlier mission.

Knowledge of the country was very important in those days of few travellers: thus we find Northumberland writing to Conway (May 5, 1640) "If you approve of the deputy lieutenant's advice for three troops at Alnwick, Morpeth and Henshaw, I doubt not but you will do it without further directions from hence. Mr. Fenwick and Mr. Vane, being acquainted with those parts, are in my opinion the fittest to be employed in those places".[19] Perhaps his previous acquaintance with the Scots was one reason why he was chosen to "cozen and deceive a

whole nation".

On the other hand, we have a definite statement by Clarendon that "Nathaniel Fiennes, the second son of the Lord Say, had spent his time abroad in Geneva and amongst the cantons of Switzerland, where he improved his disinclination to the Church, with which milk he had been nursed. From his travels he returned through Scotland (which few travellers took in their way home) at the time when the rebellion was in the bud".[20] This is not exactly being sent from England; at least, not direct. All we can say is that if such a move was made, it is likely that one of these two, specially noticed to be "received" by the leaders when they were feeling their way "with full confidence and without reserve",[21] would have been selected for it; and as a matter of fact the belief in some early agreement was very general. "It will be visible enough to any person of judgement, who doth not wilfully shut his eyes, that the hatching of this rebellion was of a much elder date than that Service book." - Dugdale[22] "As great a disease in the Body Politic as a Civil War, does not break out on a sudden, but there go before it many symptoms, who are well discerned by men of foresight and judgement." - Burnet[23] Again, there is "A letter from Mercurius Civicus to Mercurius Rostrius: or London's Confession, but not Repentence. Showing, that the beginning and obstinate pursuance of this accursed horrid Rebellion, is principally to be ascribed to that rebellious City", written by Samuel Butler in 1643, in which he avers

"To reflect a little and look back on those times when this Rebellion was but an Embrio, or else did begin to creep into the world (for we may not think that this Monster was a Brat of a sudden birth) though it were conceived (some Say) near Banbury, and shaped in Gray's Inn Lane, where the undertakers of the Isle of Providence did meet and plot it, yet you know it was put out to nurse in London".[24] (Gray's Inn Lane was later to become notorious as the London home of Pym, where his party's bribery and corruption were conducted.) Richard Overton, the Leveller leader, wrote at length on the subject in his "Remonstrance of Many Thousand Citizens, July 1646": "Time has revealed hidden things unto us, things covered over thick and threefold with pretences of the true reformed religion, when as we see apparently that this nation and that of Scotland, are joined together in a most bloody and consuming war, by the waste and policy of a set of Lords in each nation that were malcontents and vexed that the King had advanced others and not themselves to the management of State affairs. So as their work was to subvert the monarchical lords and clergy, and therewithal to abate the power of the King and to order him: but this was a mighty work, and they were no wise able to effect of it themselves: therefore, say they, the generality of the People must be engaged, and how must this be done? Why, say they, we must associate with that part of the clergy that are now made underlings and others of them that have been oppressed, and with the most zealous religious nonconformists, and by the help of these, we will lay before the generality of the people all the Popish

innovations in religion, all the oppressions of the Bishops and High Commission, all the exorbitances of the Council Board and Star Chamber, all the injustice of the Chancery and Courts of Justice, all the illegal taxations, as Ship Money, patents and projects, whereby we shall be sure to get into our party the generality of the City of London and all the considerable substantial People of both Nations." Spalding, summarising the Scots grievances ends, "fourthly, it pleased His Majesty, for his own reasons, not to confer honours upon some persons who craved the same, such as ane baron to be made ane lord and a lord an earl or some to be made knights. Whereat there was much grudging in their hearts, and strife to clip His Majesty's wings in royal government, both in state and kirk, and craftily and quickly try the hearts of nobles, barons, church and gentry of England, how they were set, and found them of the same humour and miscontentment that themselves were of, at least, a good number of all estates".[25] Thus he suggests that the clandestine band was of the Scots' seeking. In this he is supported by Chetwind, who maintains that "The first that put fire to the coal, which afterwards set these three Kingdoms in a combustion, were the Scots ..., partly out of self-interest and partly out of the obstinacy of the Scotch Presbyterians, the first sparks began to Kindle ... The faction in England correspond with the Scots, encouraged by them".[26] Burnet, as already quoted, allots the first move to the English, but he believes that the confederacy began with the Scots' dissatisfaction over Balmerino's trial. Wherever the

alliance originated, once the Scottish disturbances began, it was to flourish almost openly in the sight of every observer save one.

That one was the King. He had a series of self-contained pictures in his mind, clear and detailed patterns of facts and relations in life; he lived with these images, one degree removed from real life, and was never able to alter any of them. He was, we must conclude, subconsciously afraid of real life, of the strain of constantly mastering new problems and situations, and found his best defence in standing obstinately by his blueprint of things as they ought to be. We see his instinctive reaction to bad news - to pretend it had not happened - in his reception of the news of Buckingham's murder and of the Irish rebellion: it is the same stubborn clinging to dreams, blind and dangerous, that made him an incredibly loyal friend, and an ever-affectionate King, hoping and trusting always, to his native Scots. He could not assimilate new, unwelcome ideas, such as their turning against him; and we find him looking as frequently as his enemies to the north for help and comfort. And in fact, after both had survived rough passages, only a little time separated the wreck of the King's hope from that of his enemies'.

These latter had indeed no positive aims in common with the Scots on which to found a lasting alliance. They were agreed on the destruction of certain features of government as it stood, but had very different ideas of what should replace them. "High Church" tendencies, temporal power of Church dignitaries, would have to go;

but though there might be a certain amount of doctrine in common to Puritan and Presbyterian, their ideas of administration were very different - the Scots, exalting their interests to the dignity of a crusade, would insist on the democratic tyranny of Calvinistic Church government, which Englishmen would never swallow. The uneasy allies had to keep avoiding that question during the time they co-operated, for it could not be suppressed altogether and caused most of their quarrels. Only the determination of a few strong and practical men to weld the varying loves and hates into a weapon to serve their own hand could have achieved or maintained the gigantic hoax that briefly persuaded Scots and English to stand together as brethren against the common fear of Catholic despotism. On closer acquaintance, mutual fears were to take command instead, and desperate scheming would be necessary to maintain the doomed bond a little longer - long enough to ruin the King, to split his enemies, to end in battle between the allies and the achievement of nobody's aim, after all.

We must regard as not proven the suspicion of collaboration across the border before the outbreak of open trouble. In spite of all the contemporary rumours and belief in it, there is no direct evidence in existence. It is not a matter of which we should expect to find written proof; if letters were written on this hazardous subject, it would be the most elementary prudence to destroy them as soon as possible. Only one of the likely conspirators would have felt safe to keep such letters, in the remote, arrogant security of his

Highland strongholds: and the greater part of the Argyll papers preserved in Inverary Castle were unfortunately destroyed in a fire there. The correspondence which survives, though full of contemporary detail, is completely non-committal wherever it leaves family matters to mention events of general interest, so that nothing can be learned from it.

We can say, therefore, that there is a probability, and that only, of some early, secret contact. That conclusion is authorised by the very general contemporary belief in it, and by the actual course of events. Communication between the two peoples was so unnatural that even the rapid creation of an organised resistance to the King in Scotland is less surprising than that organisation's prompt addresses to the English, which emerged as its first full-fledged policy. The sudden mutual interest of the two peoples developed and spread with phenomenal speed, and with ever-increasing cordiality induced by brilliant propaganda, till they came into actual direct contact: thereafter the brief intensity of fellow-feeling as rapidly faded away.

English goodwill and encouragement sustained the Scots in the First Bishops' War: without confidence in English support they could not have ventured to oppose the King, but with that confidence they could even raise an army against him, for his conscripted army showed its Scottish sympathies so clearly that he could not afford to test their loyalty in battle.

Drawing mutual encouragement from their meeting during the Treaty of Berwick, English and Scots continued to press their claims - the English beginning to agitate strongly for theirs, while the Scots pressed ahead with more open defiance in the Assembly and Parliament which they had obtained, till it became clear that another war was inevitable. Profiting by their example, the English used the King's need to finance his forces as a lever to compel a Parliament for them in their turn: its speedy dissolution only heightened and focussed the general discontent and the general enthusiasm for the Scots as fellow-sufferers who were clearing the way for redress. This feeling was running so high that, after energetic correspondence to secure a welcome, and with a flood of propitiatory pamphlets, the Scots ventured on invasion of England, and succeeded in occupying the north and forcing Charles to treat with them through another English Parliament.

This was the peak of goodwill, though not of achievement, in Anglo-Scottish relations: the Scots Commissioners for the treaty were welcomed to London as the heroes of the day, and the whole of England rejoiced, with a delirium of gratitude to the Scots as authors and preservers of its Parliament. Yet almost immediately, with the first real test of propinquity and negotiation, signs of fundamental disagreement became apparent. When the English realised that they were in fact prisoners of the Scots, their racial pride came to resent the occupation in itself almost as much as its disagreeable consequences.

They were obliged to give huge sums of money to their protectors and dictators, and to submit to being hectored and bullied about its delivery: they had to consider the question of economic union, which was desired by the Scots but repugnant to them: and they had also to humour the Scots in the matter of Episcopacy. While prepared to curb the Bishops' temporal powers, the majority of Englishmen was opposed to the complete removal of their office and the substitution of Presbyterian Church government. "Government by Presbytery" inevitably spread from Church to State with theocratic oligarchy as its final result. This process was established in Scotland, and must, if its originators were to escape ultimate vengeance, displace in England also the supremacy of their common King. But while Scotland accepted such a government, it was completely alien to the temper of England. These economic and religious differences could not in the seventeenth century be composed. Yet the English Parliament had to keep up the appearance of harmony, first while it secured itself by legislation destroying regal power, and then to prevent the Scots from changing sides and joining the King against them. Such a change of front came to seem likely as the Scots for their part tired of what seemed to them the dilatory half-measures of the Parliament, and began to realise the differences subsisting and the enmity reviving between them and their allies. When on the conclusion of the treaty the King set off for Scotland, the Parliament was left with the terrified conviction that he would return with a Scottish army behind him.

But the only terms on which Scotland would agree with Charles were those of his complete surrender and reduction to a figurehead. The oligarchy of the Covenanters, headed by Argyll, was firmly established, and allowed no concession to the King. Pym in his handling of the Long Parliament had used and improved the tactics which had made the Covenant - mob violence with alarms of imminent Papist and foreign attack: the Covenanters in their turn improved on his achievements in this line, so that when Charles left Scotland he had been stripped of every trace of power there.

The English, greatly relieved, were encouraged to push on their quarrels with him, again improving on the "scare tactics" of the Incident, until it came to open war. Again Scotland was in the key position, and King and Parliament alike worked to win its support, for the Scots had shown they could raise an efficient army, while the King had twice failed to do so and Parliament had not yet tried. Charles, however, was guided by Hamilton's usual advice, to adopt delaying tactics and hope for the best, while Pym and his friends used their despotism in the Parliament to make every effort for a formal and positive alliance. To them it appeared as the lesser of two evils; for they shared with the Covenanters the knowledge that between them and the King could be no reconciliation. They shared also the determination to wipe out Episcopacy which was the deciding factor in persuading the Scots to join them. Even with their dictatorial powers, and even when defeat at the King's hands was imminent, they had the

utmost difficulty in forcing the Parliament to accept another Scottish alliance, while the mass of Englishmen who were not consulted would never have accepted it at all. It seemed at first as if the body of the Parliament would choose rather to make peace with the King than to renew the Scottish occupation, with the tyranny, extortion and interference which were its now known concomitants. A final furious alarm of danger from a Papist army, and a wild uproar of threatening mobs, were necessary to wring consent to the alliance. Once the prospect was accepted, the Solemn League and Covenant was hurriedly produced and agreed to - by the English with bitter unwillingness and by the Scots in a spirit of impatience, scorn and distrust.

The surface show of rejoicing should not mislead us into supposing the Solemn League and Covenant to have been made with any enthusiasm. Both parties had disliked their previous alliance and considered its renewal a regrettable necessity. The Scots could not risk having to account to a triumphant English King for their treatment of him, although they had the poorest opinion of the Parliament: while the Parliament would have considered Charles the lesser evil, had it retained even a semblance of freedom. If we knew no more of the Solemn League and Covenent than the history of its making, we should nevertheless be able to deduce that as soon as its immediate end was achieved the partnership disintegrated and the partners returned to their natural relationship - joining battle, instead of joining hands.

CHAPTER I

1637 - June 1639

The Canons of 1636 and the Prayer Book of 1637 which touched off the Scottish revolt had been under consideration since Charles' Coronation visit in 1633, when he had been distressed and his trusted adviser Laud had been horrified at the lack of ceremony, order, decency, in the Kirk. Spalding observes that the "joyful coronation" seemed an attempt to point the way to better things, with the seeming altar to which "the bishops were seen to bow their knee" - "which bred great fear of the inbringing of Poperie, for the which they were all deposed".[1] In the next year Charles ordered the Scots bishops to draw up a new form of service and a list of canons, and between that time and the issue of the canons in 1636, they were considered by none but a few English bishops and the energetic Laud.

Charles ordered that "The Archbishop and the Bishop of London are to peruse the canons sent from the Bishops of Scotland and to see that they be well fitted for Church government and as near as conveniently may be to the canons of the Church of England. They may alter what they shall find fitting."[2] On every count, therefore, the manner as well as the matter of the imposition was exactly that most likely to offend the national, democratic, anti-ritual Kirk. Laud himself had wisely written, in another context, "A long custom though never so bad, should have a warning peal before its dissolution";[3] unfortunately it did not occur to him to apply that maxim here.

With no preparation or discussion, the Scots were given for their old customs new ones which appeared to them evil indeed. The Canons went beyond the hated Articles of Perth, the Book, when the long unrest of waiting for it was ended, seemed to vary from the English form of service only where it favoured the Popish.

Guthry alleges that a meeting of nobles, ministers and Edinburgh ladies was held before the first reading of the Book in July 1637, to organise the famous St. Giles riot, and Spalding agrees with this. Whether or no they were so quickly ready, they were no longer in gathering than was the Kirk in surreptitiously organising the flood of petitions.[4] The divided Council was bombarded with "a number of letters by noblemen and gentlemen"[5] and presently by a Supplication from "some twenty noblemen and a great many of the gentry nearest adjacent, with about four or five score of ministers and certain boroughs" who had "resorted to Edinburgh".[6] From this first gathering speedily developed an organisation capable of controlling the national upheaval and directing it to practical ends, particularly after the idea of "The Tables", forerunner of the Committees which became popular on both sides of the Border, emerged from one of the turbulent meetings with the unfortunate Council. The course of a year's argument took shape in the earliest messages and protestations sent up to the King - Rothes' summary of their points significantly included "That it is wonderlie brought in, without the knowledge of Parliament or General Assembly; that it is disconform to the service used in England".[7] The omission

of a General Assembly to consider the Book was certainly a major complaint; but perhaps the mention of a Parliament was not quite so natural on Scottish lips as it would be on English - those English who, it was hoped, would come to know of the petitions. As for "disconform to the service used in England" - that surely was for the benefit of English potential support! Did not the Scots declare "that they would go to mass at once rather than obey and conform to the present rites of England"?[8] It was believed by Sir John Hay, Clerk Register and presently Edinburgh's Provost, that "Some gentlemen were dealing with the people and stirring sedition among them"[9] as the tumults increased, and the disaffected nobles had to leave their meeting to rescue the Council from the mob; but Rothes warned his son that it would be "best to put it upon their opinion that their religion was to be changed"[10] - a point of view more likely to win English sympathy.

The moderate Baillie's fears indicate a different temper - he feared a bloody Civil War and recalled the Catholic League of France - and it is instructive to see how the possibility grew upon an interested and acute observer, the Venetian Correr. As early as August 1637, he was reporting to the Venetian Senate that "very bitter news has been brought from Scotland about religious matters, owing to the encouragement they fear it may give to troubled spirits in this Kingdom also ... it may stir up revolutions among the people here, who are no less scandalised and discontented than the Scots ".[11] There was plainly a lively fear of this in the Court circles in which Correr moved, for

attempts to keep the news secret are more than once recorded, and in October 1638 the King still "tries to keep the measures taken over these affairs a severe secret. He has accordingly sent home a Scot who had news daily from that Kingdom and did not hesitate to publish it quite openly ".[12] Almost as soon as Baillie, however, Correr had caught the idea that "a general rising may be feared, with the danger of its spreading to this Kingdom, where the people no less than the Scots seem greedy for an opportunity to extricate themselves from the yoke to which they are being subjected,"[13] and on January 1 1638 "The seditions of Scotland, although they observe great secrecy here, are advancing to more dangerous manifestations ... We hear reports of unnamed persons who threaten to choose a new King ... Disturbances which, with the existing strained relations between the King and his subjects in this Kingdom also, for the same religious causes against the Puritans, and because they are deprived of Parliaments and laden with many burdens, which they claim are an excess of the royal power might give rise to incidents involving the worst consequences" - revolt, in non-diplomatic terms.[14] "It is reckoned that three-fifths of England belong to the Calvinist sect, which is the same as the Scots', against whom they will not want to draw the sword, their own salvation depending upon the preservation of the others. The English also speak to the same effect, their views clearly showing the general dissatisfaction with the present government, and their rejoicing at such disturbances, through which they argue that the King will have to yield in the end to the obstinacy of the Scots. They hope by

this example to improve the condition of England likewise." [15] London, its excitement rising through 1637 over the punishment of Prynne, Bastwick and Burton, and the arguments about ship-money, - London, the centre of advanced views and disturbances - London was "this Kingdom" and "England", we may suppose, to a foreign ambassador: but his pessimistic prophecies, always keeping ahead of events, but never very far, proved in their eventual fulfilment that in fact where London led the country would shortly follow. "London is the common country of all England, from which is derived to all parts of this realm all good and ill occurrent here" (Thomas Bedyll to Thomas Cromwell, 1537) - that was if anything truer in the period 1637-43 than when written in 1537. As the Venetian foresaw, London was the first to follow in the Scottish footsteps, which led through supplications and protestations to the Covenant.

With the Covenant (March 2, 1638) there was an end to the half-official mediations of Traquair and Roxburgh, and the now firmly established Tables were resolute for their demands of Assembly and Parliament. War was yet one stage distant - Charles now opened direct negotiations through a Commissioner, and in May appointed to that hopeless task - of all men - the Marquis of Hamilton. The next heir to the crown after Charles' family, steadily suspected of treachery throughout his career by every onlooker, almost as steadily trusted by the King, poor ineffective Hamilton was that most useless figure in the Commissioner's post, an anxiously well-meaning man. His influence over Charles

probably derived from a certain similarity in outlook; though Charles was inclined to bury his head in the sand, Hamilton rather to run round in circles, they were moved by the common impulse to avoid facing the facts before them. Hamilton, however, with his nervous desire to stand well with the man in whose company he happened to be, was unfortunately placed as envoy. A peaceful settlement, and thus the safety of his broad lands either side of the Border, was his genuine aim, but his method seems to have been to ingratiate himself personally with both sides. Of Charles' devoted trust he could be sure. We learn that the King "laid upon his back the commission, with a strange memento, that he was informed ... of his countrymen's purpose to set the crown of Scotland upon his head, yet such was his trust in his loyalty that he would employ no other to represent his person at this so dangerous a time 'wherein if I be the fool thou must be the knave'".[16] While Hamilton was with the King, or thinking of him, he was properly affected by this confidence, and wrote to him always in a high tone of loyalty, picturing himself as a selfless prop to the throne, showing off alternately his skill - "what I cannot do by strength I do by cunning" - and his loyalty - "though by God I will stand to my ground till you be ready". When his usual despondency and his inability to move the Covenanters expressed itself in theatrical terms, he swore he would sever himself and his family from Scotland for ever:[17] but simultaneously he was pointing out to the Covenanters that he was bound to wish Scotland's good - "having his fortune only here, and nothing anywhere else, his

dignity was here, himself and children behoved to be Scotsmen".[18] He, who was perpetually seeing himself, now as the skilful averter of war, now as the hardy warrior, - even contrived to see himself on one side of a door as one of the King's Council who "known what they do and will answer for it", on the other side a moment later as a "kindly Scot" who told the Covenanters, "there being none present but yourselves, if you go on with courage and resolution, you will carry what you please; but if you faint and give ground in the least, you are undone. A word is enough to wise men".[19] Arguments and threats from such a man would not carry much weight. Some of his arguments indeed were at least half encouragement: Burton points out that "a significant feature in these persuasives is the reference to the sympathies of the English with the stand taken in Scotland. Those to whom he appealed knew the extent of this sympathy too well to give heed to the supposition of its sudden reversal".[20] This refers to a passage in one of the private interviews between Hamilton and Rothes, in which Hamilton "denied", and Rothes "uttered in jest", so may things which afterwards came to pass: "Whore England now pitieth us, thinking we get wrong, as he believeth, few or none would rise with the King, if he were to come and force us".[21] These extraordinary remarks of Hamilton's lend point to Gordon's comment: "The King complained that the oftener they did petition and protest, they did still enlarge their demands and add to their grievances. But little did he know, that they were animated thereunto by such as the King took to have been for him. It is very well known that the great error

which brought the King to his ruin ... was his too great trust that he placed in a number of his courtiers who were his underhand enemies".[22] Small wonder that "the Commissioner would have none called in, professing, if anything escaped him of freedom of discourse, witness might prove; but he being with one man, might deny: and thought himself good enough for anyone if it come to contradiction".[23]

Small wonder also that the Covenanters boldly outfaced his threats with "They wished His Majesty's subjects in England and Ireland had subscribed the like Covenant; it would be much to His Majesty's advantage", and "That if His Majesty should raise England against them they would be forced to manifest to them and all the world how great injuries they had received, and how much it concerned themselves to be freed of that heavy yoke of bondage which lay upon their own kirks, and use all means for their liberation, being thus oppressed".[24] Before his appointment as Commissioner, Baillie says, Hamilton had "encouraged us to proceed with our supplications"[25] through the mysterious Mr. Borthwick, who went between London and Edinburgh for some time and finally settled down among the Puritans in London. Three months after his astonishing confidences to Rothes, Hamilton himself solemnly wrote to the King, "They conceive and are most hopeful of, that Your Majesty will not be able to effect (a conquest): for they are made believe that your subjects in England will be far from giving assistance to work this end, that they will rather join with them".[26] But it was not only the Commissioner who had made them believe this: nobody except Charles

would credit Hamilton's word alone. Baillie (who was writing as early as January 1637 that "It's our hearty prayer there might be a Parliament in England, which might obtain all misorders there redressed") grows more confident throughout 1638 of English interest. On February 27, he writes, "When we are fully satisfied, it is likely England will begin where we have left off, to crave order of the greater and more intolerable abuses of their clergy"; and more definitely in "News from England the 15 of July", we find "Lord William Howard has written to the Lord Arundell, beseeching him to take to heart the business of Scotland; for if they take arms the North of England will join with them". On July 22, "The English counsellors freely are said to have spoken of the injustice of such a course (an expedition by Charles) and the danger which it was like to bring to the state of England as things went, their deep malcontentments lying for many years, but overplastered, without any solid cure".[27] Charles, finding it impossible to keep Scottish affairs out of the limelight, tried to cut off communications from the Covenanters and to work on the national spirit; "it was constantly reported in England that the Scots were aiming with 50,000 men to assault them";[28] but his opponents called down impressive curses on anyone who suggested it, for there was nothing less in their minds (except in the case of stoppage of trade), and made a chief grievance of "the intercepting and opening of letters",[29] demanding that it should be tried and punished. They could not afford to lose touch with "such Noblemen of their own nation as were resident most ordinarily at Court;

to whom they send full informations of all their grievances",[30] and in return "at all occasion gets timeous information what the King was to do".[31] Whether or no Hamilton did communicate all the Kings's counsels and projects unto them",[32] it is testified that he wrote fully and frequently to his friend of earlier days in Germany, the elder Vane - "about the posture the King was in if it should come to force";[33] Vane would not be slow in passing on the information thus gained, just as valuable to his friends at second-hand. "These underhand enemies of the King, such as he took to have been for him" - the very gentlemen of the bedchamber, according to Napier, - joined in the "underhand assurances that were not wanting from England"[34] as to the success of Scots propaganda there. The post did more general service: "Moreover" says Dugdale "they procured divers libels to be scattered in England for the justification of their rebellious courses, and defamation of Ecclesiastical government, inciting His Majesty's subjects in this realm to attempt the like rebellion here".[35] Such success attended their efforts that just before the General Assembly Baillie could write "It is thought many in England has intelligence with us; that the arms in England are mainly to suppress the Lower House men, of whom Canterbury stands in great doubt".[36]

This was not just wishful thinking on the Scots' part: the opinion was that ruefully held by English royalists also. In July 1638, Henry de Vic drew up a "Paper on the State of Scotland" in which he drew these conclusions: "We must examine how we are provided with

commanders, fortresses and horses, how assured of the affection of other subjects, and whether by giving the Scotch cause to take arms we do not provide them with an appearance of equity for the necessity of defence ... They are resolved, prepared, united and have many good commanders, are encouraged by strangers and have intelligence with some English; and His Majesty might not find the readiness he expects in his subjects here if, as God forbid, he should have use for them on such occasion, wherein they think themselves equally concerned with the Scots, and if we may judge by appearances would be as ready if they durst to seek for a redress of their grievances. It would give the English subjects an ill precedent in point of a Parliament, and it may be they expect but the occasion of seeing His Majesty engaged in some course wherein he having greater need of their help they may better demand".[37]

The same opinion, again, was expressed by a Jesuit writing to his superior on June 18: "In Scotland the good people under the mask of religion are setting up an anarchy and to that end refuse everything that the King offers them because they seem to be able to resist all that he can do against them. The King in this affair has gone on too quietly ... and shown such feebleness that his subjects begin to raise the head, and make little revolts and mutinies even in England ... in England everybody is discontented ... the party of the puritans is so numerous, and has such correspondence with the Scotch, that they begin already to break down the altars ... the least insurrection in

Scotland would occasion great trouble in this country".[38]

It seems from these estimates of the position that the Scots need not have been so chary of crossing the Border, especially as men were already talking along the same lines in public: one John Allured, for instance, who said concerning the Scots "that they were brave boys and would make us all quake. And it being told him they could not much avail to do us hurt, he said they would come to our faces, and that they did well; they would reform this land by a Parliament as well as they have done theirs already ... Being told that they durst not invade us, he said the King would get nobody to fight against them, for they were our own nation and our own blood". "He dwells upon the borders of Scotland" was the explanation given;[39] but that brotherly attitude towards the Scots would have been even more surprising in a Borderer than in a Southern Englishman, even one year earlier. John Eym was writing to a friend abroad, about this time (July 1638), of "it being a time which threatens great change and trouble"[40]; as usual, he knew the position far better than the officials who were still trying to persuade men that "it is all like to be well composed".[41]

The Assembly, which finally met in November 1638 and was officially dissolved after a week, put an effective end to Hamilton's distracted comings and goings. It had cost him two journeys back to London to achieve even so much, obtaining one stage of concession from the King after the Covenanters had already gone on to demand the next. They would have an Assembly and a Parliament; he obtained that only

to find that they would have no bishops in the Assembly; when he announced that Charles would consent to the limitation of Episcopacy, and an Assembly elected as it had been in the past, they declared that the Assembly was the sole judge of these matters. Another of their demands compelled the admiration of the diplomatic expert Giustinian: "They have gone so far as to claim that Parliament shall be summoned in this Kingdom also, so that jointly they may give a better reputation to the Government in the future. This demand shows great sagacity, the object being to interest the English and win their sympathy, while by introducing the sickle directly into the royal authority they multiply the offence to His Majesty".[42] A week later, he reports, "Growing ever bolder, they have recently published a book which in a most licentious manner, not only justifies the reason for their revolt but by pointing out the common interests involved strongly urges the English not to afford the King the help they owe if the King proposes to beat down the privileges of that nation by force. His Majesty has had every copy of this book suppressed with the utmost energy, so that such pernicious notions may not be spread in this Kingdom".[43] But there was no preventing that. Clarendon may have thought that the Scots were "in no degree either feared or loved by the people; and most men hoped, that this would free the court from being henceforth troubled with that vermin",[44] but the truth lies rather with Burnet, that "all that while the

affection of the English to the party in Scotland did discover itself in many high expressions, which others could not but see, and the King sadly, but too late, felt afterwards".[45] Thus supported, the Covenanters pressed on so vigorously that "The French Ambassador cannot bring himself to believe that the Catholic does not encourage this movement, and the Spanish ministers openly say that the most Christian and the Dutch have a hand in it ... it is commonly believed at Court that all these powers contribute what they can to turn the dissensions of these realms to their own advantage".[46] The Venetian Senate instructed its ambassador in London to report at once any developments of this rumour, which he himself was not inclined to credit: from Germany, Grimani declared that there was "a strong impression that the disturbances in Scotland are encouraged by the Cardinal" shared by the English Resident.[47] Charles himself firmly believed that Richelieu was the arch-villain of the piece. The great Cardinal - official denials apart - appears to have realized it would not be necessary:[48] that a Scotland so actively united was capable of giving Charles a full measure of trouble by its own unaided efforts. The Glasgow Assembly, maintaining lay elections, attacking the bishops, ran directly counter to Hamilton's suggestions, and ignored his dissolution. Then, freed from the hindrance of a theoretically hostile Commissioner, in a month it destroyed episcopacy, nullified all past Episcopal Assemblies, and set up a thoroughly Presbyterian Kirk system. Perth Articles, the Canons, the Service Book were gone, and war was bound to

come. Charles and Hamilton had had moments of deceiving themselves on that point; Charles was to have some still; but now in their hearts they knew it.

January and February 1639 saw the levying of troops, the trained bands, and the old summons to feudal service sent out to the nobles. Charles was miserably short of money for a war, and all the offices he sold could not supply the want, but this pressing of the nobles was to prove a dear economy. He managed to get enough men to the north to make a fairly respectable paper army, and on paper his plan of campaign seemed reasonable too: but when he entered York at the end of March he had lost rather more than he had gained. Most of the royal army was drawn from the trained bands of the north, but there were sufficient"foreigners" to spread a feeling of indifference and impatience in the camp; the "men of Kent" for example, who were reported to be particularly reluctant: "This had almost caused a mutiny amongst them, some said it was done purposely to weaken the country, others said it was an ill example for after ages, and an old captain said they might well retain the name of "Kentish longtails" but to be called any more men of Kent they could not claim it".[49] As for the nobles, their discontent amounted almost to open rebellion. They had obviously learned to hope great things from a Parliament by the Scottish Assembly's success, and those among them who hoped that the next Parliament would have the upper hand, owed a great deal to

the Scots who had proved it possible. Saye and Brooke actually refused to obey the summons, at first, maintaining that only Parliament could command them; but they came to York, in the end, where among their fellow-conscripts they had a rich opportunity to make trouble. "It is well there came no more of the nobility hither, for those that are here begin to mutter and plot"[50] - so Henry Mildmay reported, exactly as might have been expected of already discontented noblemen herded north together. The difficulty of meeting had been solved by their enemy the King, or more accurately, by their allies the Scots, and they were gathered together as legitimately as if in Parliament, and conveniently near to those allies. Small wonder then that treachery and reports of it were rife in the royalist camp that spring!

The Scots on the other hand had materially strengthened their position. As soon as it was known that the levying of an English army had begun, a manifesto was issued which was in fact an appeal against the King to the English people. That this was literally the Scots' first care is made very plain by the good Baillie: "The Council of England, after long advisement, permitted the King, I would have said consented to the King's desire, to enter in a course of war against us ... Our first care, was to send in a true information to England of all our purposes: we had some months before given to that nation account in print of all our former proceedings, to their good liking; we then, in a printed sheet or two, laboured to clear ourselves of all slanders, especially of that vile calumny of our

intention to invade England ... This piece ... satisfied so fully the hearts of that nation, that our adversaries ... moved the King to make that pitiful declaration of 27 February ... But at once we lost naught by that most injurious dealing; for our innocency was so well remonstrated in print, by these three or four most dainty sheets of Mr. Henderson's, that we, over all England, began to be much more pitied than before, and our enraged party, the bishops, to be the more detested. Our next care was, to have all our minds cleared of the lawfulness of our defence ... When we had done diligence to inform our neighbours of England, and make sure the courages of all our friends at home, in the third place, we took course for a real opposition to our enemies ... We were hopeful of powerful assistance from abroad if we should have required it ... (but) a league with foreigners had made England of necessity our party; the evil in the world we most declined, and our adversaries most did aim at".[51]

This paper warfare had been successful. As Burnet put it "they first sent papers and letters through all England, and to the court, vindicating themselves with high protestations, that they desired not the invasion of England, as had been misrepresented, and therefore they expected no hostility from them to whom they neither did nor intended hurt. These letters were said not to be ill received at Court by some who were in the highest trust".[52] Even when Charles had dismissed "our Scottishmen from court to come home, by their removal

to hinder our intelligence, which from some in their company was always coming to us",[53] there remained to spread the infection such men as the notoriously treacherous Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, and the President of the Providence Island Company, now appointed General of the Horse and presently to be tricked, if no worse, by his supposed adversaries. The nervous Huntly was obviously impressed by the "so good intelligence from England as no danger will come from thence" which he professed to scorn.[54] By the middle of March, the Venetian Ambassador was reporting that England preferred the Scots' declarations to the King's. "The Council of Scotland have this week sent a very seditious paper to His Majesty, to all the ministers and principal lords of the Court, in which they labour to prove that the interest and liberty of the English are inseparably bound up with the cause of the Scots, and state that they wish to refer the present difference absolutely to the English Parliament. This announcement is the more plausible in this country since it increases the excitement of those who want a change ... everyone applauds their steadfastness ... This plan" (of the King's, to attack the Scots) "does not coincide with the sympathies of the generality, and all the remarks one hears in this city are entirely favourable to the constancy and interests of the Scots. In order to keep the English Puritans steadfastly in their favour the Scots distribute many papers in this country, in which they point out that the steps taken by His Majesty were solely due to the

interested advice of ministers, won over by the pope, who, under the pretence of reforming the liturgy of the churches of the two countries, proposed to introduce the mass as well, and to reduce these realms once more to subjection to the Roman Court, which is most hateful to them. These ideas acquire the more credit with the people because only the Catholics speak against the rebels".[55]

Also, the Scots were making a strong appeal to combined Puritan and patriotic feelings with their suggestion that only this trouble with bishops was preventing a mass attack on the Palatinate for the benefit of the King's sister and her family. "It is reported that if the Scots may have a hearing and receive redress of their grievances, that then Leslie with 10,000 men will join with the English to invade the Palatinate, which plausible motion, whether true or false, influences people against those whom they suppose to stand in the way of so much good".[56]

All over the country the Scots propaganda was being diffused. Right at the centre of tension, in Berwick, the King's men were constantly distressed by what Henry de Vic described as "two great amisses I have observed here; the too great liberty the Scots have in going to and fro, and the power of transmitting letters not being confined to those who are answerable for the safety of the place, which in this regard runs the greatest hazard".[57] Near at hand, Newcastle was in constant excitement over Puritan preaching, and the mayor sent

up to London many pamphlet volumes which had been distributed under cover of darkness. By the fact that eighteen were handed in in one day, we can gauge how many must have been retained. At least one man in Edinburgh obviously considered Newcastle ripe for direct assault: "I send you (two Newcastle merchants) the view of all our proceedings, which I pray you read to your brethren and afterwards give it to Mr. Davison the mayor, hoping he will show it to the whole body of the town, at least to those who are well affected, to show unto them all that we are neither minded nor purpose you any evil, and hope that all good Christians will think no less of us".[58]

The State Secretaries and their staff were sadly overworked, following up reports like these of treason spreading and of its results, in the numerous "examinations" such as this: "Information from Gateshead: one Ralph Fowler says ... he thought the Scottish covenanters in no way to be accused, for they did nothing but in defence of their own right and maintenance of the gospel, and did but defend themselves against those that would have brought in popery and idolatry amongst them, and that for his part he thought he should not fight against them in this quarrel".[59] This sort of opinion was being expressed and fomented everywhere, and most of all in London. Secretary Windebank's secretary, Read, was finding it impossible to keep up with them all: "Went to the post house to open the Scottish letters, and there intercepted about 22 of the libellous Scottish

informations directed to divers persons in London ... I attended His Majesty with some Scottish letters formerly intercepted concerning my Lord Brooke, Livingston the tailor, and Knowles the messenger, and proposed whether it were not fit to have Lord Brooke restrained before His Majesty's going to the North".[60] Every day brought to London its quota of letters from careful Scots: "I thought good to let you know how things go with us, that ye that are in England shall not be ignorant of our love towards our brotherly nation and country, and that you may see the length of all things. I have sent you these three books for your information, and if you desire it, on another occasion I shall send you more".[61] The Government rated the importance of such letters very high, and Read spent most of his time hunting through the papers of any London Scots who could be found: "I am in such continual employment in examining these Puritan rogues, in searching for their seditious papers and discovering their plots and villainies, that I am weary of life".[62]

Altogether Baillie's joyful pictures must have been accurate - wonderfully so for a man who professed, when he recollected himself, to have no information - "As for the forces of England, they failed like the summer brooks; the country was filled with their own grievances; a Parliament for many years was absolutely denied to their passionate grievances and evident necessities; they were now sufficiently informed, that the Scots' quarrel and their own was but

one; their domineering bishop, by his emissaries, afar beginning these pranks on us, which at once they expected he would play on their backs if the Scots did succumb. The hearts of all might be seen averse from this unjust war ... The trained bands gave it out peremptorily, that they were not obliged to follow the King without the country; and that they were resolved not to pass beyond the bounds of their obligation ... The courtiers' ... former life in pleasure gave them little feast of this northern voyage. The country noblemen murmured openly at the expedition".[63] In fact, the King's army could hardly be considered an effective unit. Soon after the issue of a proclamation which, by threats of penalties to be imposed on rents and lands, served to stiffen the Scots' resolution, Charles found himself unable to enforce an oath of military service among his own followers. Saye and Brooke openly refused it, and their arrest caused such widespread murmurings[64] that they had to be released and sent home. A pathetic contrast, this, to the disciplined enthusiasm of the opposing camp!

United as the Covenanters were, however, the situation was not an easy one for them either. "What to have done when we came to Tweedside we were very uncertain"[65] says Baillie, for they appreciated the fact that the strongest force on their side was English sympathy, which was likely to turn against them if they actually fought the King or crossed the Border. Charles for his part, though eager to punish

the mischief-makers, could not believe that the whole Scottish people was against him, nor determine on attack. Hamilton, sent to the Forth with ships and men, wavered as usual between plans of negotiation and battle, and brought on himself renewed suspicion by his favourite technique of private interviews. He probably expected to do good in the "secret conferences with the nobles of the Covenant, night and day, whereof the King had neither knowledge or suspicion",[66] but "secret correspondence with the rebels", during which he was liable to "reveal the King's projects and secrets"[67], could do no positive good, and during the time thus spent his troops fell sick and the hitherto loyal north of Scotland was forcibly secured for the Covenant. Fretted by Hamilton's pessimistic reports and advice, anxious about the lack of money to maintain his army, Charles escaped by an advance to Berwick from the quarrelsome atmosphere of York, where "the multitude of Scots in the camp administered matter of offence and jealousy to people of all conditions, who had too much cause to fear that the King was every day betrayed, the common discourse by all the Scots being either magnifying the good intentions of their countrymen, and that they had all duty for the King, or undervaluing the power and interest of those who discovered themselves against the church".[68]

The move to Berwick could not cure such evils as these. Holland's unlucky expedition, which ended in a disastrously comic retreat from no battle, might be the result of that nobleman's

inexperience, or of his treachery, or that of others who "constantly revealed the cabinet councils";[69] it was in any case the end of any prospect of serious war.

Thus Mary, Countess of Westmoreland, was justified of her forebodings. "In time" she had written to Windebank "policy may bring to pass without hazard that which force cannot do for the present but with hazard. The Scots have many spies which flock about the King, and they cannot but know how the state of this Kingdom stands, and be encouraged ... they know our divisions, and the strength of their own combination, and that they have a party amongst us, and that we have none amongst them ... when things are brought to an ill pass a bad composition is better than a worse ... The King trusts and employs men of that nation, and you see how some of them have served him, and still things go from bad to worse, and I am persuaded that they will not mend till all things only for accommodation be taken hold of, passing by things which aggravate ...".[70] Only a month had passed since the Countess wrote that letter, and now some "accommodation" had become imperative. The Covenanters "who very well understood the weakness of the court, as well as their own want of strength, were very reasonably exalted with this success, and scattered their letters abroad amongst the noblemen at court, according to the humours of men to whom they writ; there being upon the matter an unrestrained intercourse between the King's camp and Edinburgh".[71] Inevitably, negotiations followed;[72] their initiation set the face-saving pattern

of the whole scrambled treaty. One of the King's Scottish pages, a Leslie, visited the Scots to suggest that they might supplicate; they complied with this, as they managed formally to read the King's Proclamation - in a tent - and hurried on to the treaty.

Both sides knew that it was time to pause; they must have known also that it would be a pause only. The accounts left of the negotiations give the impression of a curiously informal and rather hurried affair; an exercise in argument; something not quite real. Spalding, urging his belief of "clandestine bonds", even suggests that the terms had been secretly agreed beforehand by the disaffected of both parties.[73]

June 11 was the date of the first meeting; during the ensuing week Charles learned that he could not hope for money to maintain his army, and on the 18th the treaty was signed. The Scots were to disband their army, their Tables and committees, and return the King his castles: he in his turn would disband his army, and summon an Assembly and a Parliament. As the questionof election to these bodies was not raised, this treaty was in fact an agreement to go back to the beginning of the troubles and work them over again: if it has any significance, it is in the renewed example to the English leaders of a polite but absolute defiance which the King could out-argue but could not effectively quell. Baillie reports that the English for the most part were silent, taking full notice of the Scots' carriage,

while the King, who insisted that he was there as unquestionable judge, alternated between vague assurances of justice and flashes of anger which must have weakened his position. A typical passage at arms runs thus:

"The paper being read the principal thing insisted upon was the taking away Episcopacy.

Henderson. We do not urge it now to be done but in the Assembly where we desire it shall be abolished.

King. I say whatsoever an Assembly being lawfully constituted shall determine I will agree unto and if I shall give my vote beforehand it will be invalid and therefore you are ill advised to press any such thing.

Henderson. Then if Your Majesty shall not find it agreeable to the Church and Kingdom we shall desire it may be abolished and that we may have leave to sit till the Assembly be done.

King. Well let us leave that what say you to the other part of the paper." 74

From a treaty thus inconclusively argued nothing could be expected save a breathing-space for both sides. The moral victory was with the Scots, who had forced the King to grant them an Assembly and a Parliament: the significant rapprochement was that of the discontented English among themselves. If they "took the opportunity to communicate their dislike to each other."[75], they were doubtless also "bound to the Covenanting lords"[76] in some measure - "What conference was then held, betwixt the Scots and divers of the great ones then in His Majesty's camp (considering also who were of his bedchamber) may easily be guessed

by the consequences".[77] Windebank's secretary Read had a lively correspondent in Berwick, Edward Norgate, who wrote to him of the many comings and goings between the camps after the Pacification, that as a result, "now you can go nowhere but the Covenanters are commended, and the Scotch bishops blest backwards".[78] Hamilton himself, who had been repeatedly warning the King of treachery[79], continued during this time to ingratiate himself with the Covenanters, and "the Scots returned to Edinburgh with all they desired having gotten many more friends in England than they had before".[80] As Baillie explained, "Many secret motives there was on all hands that spurred on to this quick peace. Had (the King) incurred any skaith, or been disgraced with a shameful flight, our hearts had been broken for it, and" (a more practical consideration) "likely all England behoved to have risen in revenge. Divers of all ranks, of the best note in our camp, were beginning to be scrupulous in conscience to go in to England ... those who understood best our affairs thought that God had sent us a tolerable peace in a very fit time".[81] In truth, the First Bishop's War was ending most favourably for the Scots: they had united their country, defied the King, roused English interest and sympathy to their side, and were now anticipating success in the Assembly and Parliament which they had obtained without concession to the King or battle with their future allies. Nor were these latter slow to profit by their example. "All laud to the skies the

steadfastness of the Scots" reports Giustinian "and everyone feels sure that the troubles will have cured the King completely from making revolutionary changes in the future, and that he will also be more anxious to please his people here ... The composition with the Scots has been arranged, to the great joy of the people and of the Puritans in particular ..."[82] and after "the Scots made all the caresses to many of the English, and breathed out in mutual confidence their resentments to each other",[83] "All the commanders and leading ministers have returned to this city. Everyone speaks most highly of the discreet behaviour and generous proposals of the Scots, showing their strong partiality for that side. Some suspect, with good cause, that the English have secretly fomented these disturbances with the intent of forcing the King to concede a Parliament to this Kingdom also. This is the single goal to which the efforts and murmurings of the people aspire, the Puritans in particular, who have most power at present".[84]

Thus, at the close of this first episode of the Civil Wars, the Scots had lost none of the English sympathy for their ends, and had demonstrated some useful moves which their sympathisers were to adopt in their own game. Finding themselves in a promising situation, Charles' opponents in both countries were not likely to rest long upon their laurels.

CHAPTER II

June 1639 - November 1640

After the ineffectual Treaty of Berwick, it was clear that the Scots could with confidence continue their stand against the King on those points which had provoked the quarrel and still remained unresolved. The bishops' position in regard to the coming Assembly and Parliament had not been determined, and it was obvious that in the constitution and progress of these gatherings the problems shelved at Berwick would have to be openly faced; obvious too that the English, aroused by recent events to anxious attention, would follow the course of the struggle with hopes and fears for the Scots as for their own cause.

Such neighbourly sympathy, as Clarendon gloomily reflects, was the greatest of all the Covenanters' gains: "The Scots got so much benefit and advantage by it, that they brought all their other mischievous devices to pass with ease ... They had before no credit abroad ... but after this pacification they appeared much more considerable abroad and at home ... But that which was the greatest benefit and advantage that accrued unto them from the advantage, and which was worth all the rest, was the conversation they had with the English with so much reputation, that they had persuaded very many to believe, that they had all manner of fidelity to the King; and the

acquaintance they made with some particular lords, to that degree, that they did upon the matter agree what was to be done for the future, and how to obstruct any opposition or proceedings by those who were looked upon as enemies by both sides: for none in Scotland more disliked all that was done in court, and the chief actors there, than those lords of England did; though they were not so well prepared for an expedient for the cure".[1]

Pitched battle was delayed for a few months, but the Covenanters were not likely to relax the propaganda which had created this favourable interest. Hardly was the Treaty of Berwick signed before they had a paper in circulation reporting some apocryphal discussions in which the King seemed to abandon episcopacy: this paper, presented to "some of the English nobles", soon reached London, and its suppression only increased its success. The tracts which were coming into vogue were busily gibing at the Berwick fiasco - "boys" (in a London riot) "had done more than men durst do at Berwick",[3] - and were very happy to turn this new weapon also against the prelates. "News came of the peace which did not please the prelates, yet they could not tell how to help it: fain would they have picked a quarrel, but knew not how, until ill luck at last did help them. For it seems that the Scots Commissioners had made some notes of remembrance of such speeches as had been past between the King and them upon the Pacification, which they gave unto the English nobility, who being (after the King's return)

to give in account of their proceedings to the rest of the Council, they were questioned for having the said Notes; and every one made some excuse, and like simple honest men confest their silliness, and were content to have it proclaimed that they never heard such words spoken. Now forsooth, because they could not hang a few papers, therefore they commanded they should be burnt by the common hangman ..." and the tract ends with a jeering account of the ceremony.[4] It is plain that the general hatred of Laud had been extended, largely through Scottish influence, to include all prelates, who were now virtually friendless. Even the rest of the Church was being affected. That autumn Bishop Hall of Exeter wrote to Laud, "We begin already to find the effects of the Scottish schism. I am grieved to say that one of my clergy ... has lately ... vented doctrine foully prejudicial to the divine institution of episcopal government ... I doubt more will follow this peevish humour ..."[5] Although many, probably most, Englishmen believed that Episcopacy should be only trimmed, not rooted out, the King was perhaps the only man besides the Bishops themselves who still wanted it to go on and flourish. At this same time he was writing to the Scottish Bishops, in characteristic, obliquely obstinate vein, "Though perhaps we may give way for the present to that which will be prejudicial both to the church and our own government, yet we shall not leave thinking in time how to rectify both".[6]

The London prentices, too, were beginning to emulate the Edinburgh mob: they "made up roars and appointed their randezvous crying out against prelates and deans"[7] as they would later do with more deadly effect.

Meanwhile there had been no intermission of the bickering at Berwick. "The King, as we expected and the English nobility our best friends did desire, minded not to stir from our borders":[8] his original intention, soon abandoned, to attend the August meetings in person, his occupation a further series of arguments with the Scots. Charles' proclamation of the Assembly invited the bishops to attend; it was promptly followed by a Covenant protestation. The Tables lingered on, the army was not wholly disbanded, there were riots in Edinburgh; Charles summoned fourteen of the Scots leaders to conference, but only six came. Their conferences with Charles rather hastened than retarded his second break with his native Kingdom; Rothes, by his own account, practically threatened Charles with war in England and Ireland if he maintained the Scottish bishops;[9] Charles called him a liar, and Wariston "as uncharitable as the devil". Hamilton, who had been succeeded as Commissioner by Traquair, was assigned a task more to his taste. "Before they (Covenanters) came to Berwick the King ordered the Marquis by a warrant in writing to try what way he could gain upon them, and discover the bottom of their intentions how the estate of bishops should be supplied in Parliament ... and how far they intended

to lessen the King's authority. The King also allowed him to use what means he pleased and to speak to them what he thought fit; not only authorizing, but requiring him to it, and warranting him if he were ever questioned or accused for it by any".[10] It is easy to understand how Hamilton became reconciled to his countrymen - "he did himself so good offices before he parted, that he was no more in their disfavour",[11] when Charles had explicitly agreed, "you will be necessitated to speak that language which, if you were called to an account for by us, you might suffer for it".[12] He must have been well contented in those days when few at Berwick were content: his loyalty, his duty to the King now impelled him to secure himself in the regard of the King's enemies, so that whatever happened, no harm would come to Hamilton.

But the Covenanters went home, and six returned instead of sixteen; Charles went back to London, to convince himself and assure the bishops that without them the Assembly and Parliament would not be legal, and to have the Scots' version of the treaty formally burnt. The Scots, gathering in Edinburgh for the Assembly, were keenly concerned as always with the state of opinion in the South; Baillie's directions to a south-bound friend read like the list of a Gallup questionnaire. Again and again he urges the traveller Cunningham to discover the popular feeling: "Try who are fervent and able opposites there to Canterbury's way; try how they can be silent to see Popery growing; try of some discreet Alderman the grounds why London did not

join against the Scots; what hopes there is of a Parliament; why so few of the English divines has meddled to write against us; how our proceedings are thought of there now".[13]

Their proceedings were in fact as plain a defiance to Charles as any army on the Border; the Assembly hastened to re-enact all the anti-episcopal measures of that of Glasgow, and ordered that every hand in Scotland should be set to the Covenant. As a final gesture, "They further declared" reports Giustinian" in most arrogant papers printed and carefully circulated in that Kingdom and this, that the terms hitherto published were merely to gratify the King and to save his face, asserting freely that by secret promises he granted them all that they asked". The Venetian records the continued success of these tactics as shown in "the spirit of the people of England, who all loudly and openly applaud the spirited action of the rebels".[14]

The Parliament was as prompt in grasping the episcopal nettle, addressing itself to the permanent re-casting of the Lords of the Articles as soon as a temporary arrangement permitted action. With the exclusion of the bishops, the royal control of this all-important committee had been lost, and now the division in the ranks of the Covenant began to appear, as Montrose and others were for restoring that control, and Argyll's party succeeded in voting that each estate should choose its own Lords, making the Parliament itself supreme. No more astonishing innovation was ever effected by the Parliamentarians who

soon afterwards usurped the rule in England, when the exclusion of bishops had divided the parties in that Parliament as in this.

Whatever difficulties Argyll's party were preparing for themselves in the future, they were able to pass a series of extreme anti-royalist measures through this Parliament, declaring episcopacy unlawful, justifying the recent war, ordering that the King's chosen governors of his castles must be approved by the estates. This last invites comparison with the harder struggle the English presently had over the militia command, and indeed the declaring "Let it be right" of the Parliament's views was the method adopted in England when government by ordinance became the semblance of legality in revolution.

Although not in the secure position which later enabled their English allies to have their Parliament perpetuated, these pioneering Scots met Charles' prorogation with the announcement that he had no right to exercise it without Parliament's consent. More; they obtained an adjournment and sent Dunfermline and Loudon to remonstrate with the King. He refused to hear them or to ratify the Acts they brought, as they had not his Commissioner's signature to their instructions: he would not recognize the Parliament as an independent power fit to treat with him, but shortly afterwards negotiations did take place. The Parliament did adjourn, leaving in Edinburgh the inevitable committees; Traquair arrived in London in November, soon after Wentworth, and summarized the position to the Scottish Committee

of the Privy Council (in which there was only one Scot; Charles' tenderness for Scots nationalism decreased with its increasing danger). The problem was no nearer solution than before Berwick; the Covenanters' loyal professions hardly cloaked a practical defiance; a second war was agreed in full Council to be inevitable. Wentworth advised the calling of a Parliament, and as it became clear that apart from individual loans there was no other source of supply, December saw the issue of writs for April 13th.

Spalding summarized the reason for this almost-despaired-of event with his customary downright indignation. "The King was in a measure craftily compelled to indict the Parliament; the King seeking reparation of the Scots, they his English subjects seeking a Parliament for reformation of Kirk and Policy, according to the form and manner concluded betwixt the House of Commons and some nobles of England and some of our nobles and clergy of Scotland, in a clandestine covenant made betwixt them ... The King, ignorant of this business, and taking none to be the traitors and beginners of this reformation but the Scots, deals with the English to assist him against them. But they answered, without a Parliament they could not condescend to the raising of war, and His Majesty loth to grant a Parliament, for divers good resons, Yet, he is compelled, looking to get his will over the Scots, to grant a Parliament";[15] and doubtless he still felt that against open rebels a Parliament would support him.

It was typical of Charles that while straining every nerve to raise money for war, even calling the first Parliament for eleven years, he went back on his refusal to hear the Covenanters' arguments, and invited their Commissioners back to London. The desultory discussions which were held were of no importance. What hope had they of success in the midst of a rearmament campaign? Their stay in London did afford Loudon and Dunfermline a fine opportunity for intrigue, and as the better trained Venetian envoy reported with genuine scorn, the rash and hasty Bellievre welcomed their proposals of alliance with France. He was speedily recalled; but his attitude had become known - in the mysterious way in which such rumours spread, widely known: it must have added cubits to the stature of the Covenant, in the eyes of London, that the Most Christian's ambassador had treated with its representatives, as with a secure and sovereign power. The unlucky Charles lost in prestige as the Covenanters gained; yet he might fairly have expected to reap the benefit of Traquair's supplying a copy of their letter to Louis - "Au roy". It seemed treason had been planned, and Charles had high hopes of the English Parliament's resenting it. He had without doubt inherited some of his father's shrewd sense for a favourable point, and he showed it in his treatment of this letter. Sending a copy to the French King through his ambassador in Paris, he wrote to the latter, "Tell him we trust him, and publish this very letter, together with their machinations and treasons, to all the

world and more particularly to our Court of Parliament, so that the world may no longer be abused by their artifices and pretences of conscience, but that they may appear in their own natural colours to be incendiaries, and that the ground of their rebellions is nothing but a mere opposition and hatred to civil and monarchical government, wherein the common interest of all Kings is highly concerned".[16] A covering note from Windebank tells Leicester that Charles was "expecting passionately what will be the carriage and answer of the French King upon intimation hereof". But as usual Charles' hopes were disappointed. It was easy for Louis to deny that he had ever received the letter: that was all the satisfaction to be got from him. The Scots were undaunted, pleading that the amnesty of Berwick covered a letter drafted before it and never sent: and in fact, when the Parliament met, it showed no particular concern over the letter at all.

A far more tentative appeal from Charles to the "common interest of Kings" would be attacked as treachery to the nation: but the Scots could do no wrong (at the moment), and the letter was consigned to a Parliamentary pigeon-hole, while "grievances" took first place.

Thus the months before the Parliament had yielded little of help to Charles, whereas the Scots had briskly and efficiently gone about the business of re-arming, and maintained their contacts with the discontented English.

In particular they were careful to be informed of conditions in

the north and in London. For the north, the vicar of Newcastle wrote to the Archbishop of York, "There have been in our town two covenanters of Scotland of no mean note ... I heard that ... some three or four of our nonconformists held more familiar correspondence with them than was fit ... Sir John Buchanan (one of them) continues yet in the town, for what purpose I cannot guess, unless it be to sound the humours and dispositions of the people, which way they stand inclined and affected".[17] Newcastle was in a perpetual ferment of suspected plots and treasons all this year, ranging from private interviews like these to the report of one informer between Scotland and Newcastle who carried north a bond subscribed by sixty-three noblemen and gentlemen in England.[18]

Conway was very much distressed about the free and regular intercourse between Scots and English. The Scots were providing for their army by giving the English their generous custom: Sir William Bellasys wrote from Darrington, "I understand here that the Scotch buy many horses in this country, and give very great rates for them".[19] But they did not need the excuse of trade to travel, as Conway repeatedly complained; to Laud, "There are several hundreds of Scotsmen who have families here upon the borders, especially upon Lord Grey's lands, also about 300 in the coal mines, and many Scotch families in Newcastle; these numbers may be of dangerous consequence if not prevented";[20] on the same day, to Strafford and to Northumberland,

Conway again expressed the gravest concern at the free travel of these men across the Border, and generally "of many hundred Scots mostly with families which have lived long here, and yet are they as much of the Scotch party as if they dwelt at Edinburgh".[21] His fears were justified, according to another witness, who complained after the invasion, "The greater part of the town were Covenanters, and certified Leslie of our strength".[22]

The position in Berwick seems to have been even worse. The Governor, Sir Michael Ernle, worked hard on the fortifications and believed them secure, but he found himself quite unable to secure the citizens. "We can by no means get the favour of the townsmen. I have ever used them with all the civility in the world, but all will not prevail".[23] This resulted in the exposure of his defences to any interested eye: "I am this day informed out of Scotland that the commander of artillery under Col. Hamilton has been here at Berwick and disguised in the habit of a country marketman has taken an exact view of the works, walls, guards and armour, and has given his report accordingly. I am besides informed that if the King's answer does not give the Scots full satisfaction they will endeavour by all means the gaining of this town".[24] Not unnaturally, the King was bitterly angry to learn that this sort of exploit was daily possible: but what could Ernle do, while "I cannot distinguish the loyal subjects from the rebels, they are so neatly mingled"?[25]

The same mingling was to be observed in the capital. There an information was directed to Secretary Vane: "The Covenanters have one George Wauchope come with letters ... he has challenged me for speaking againsts the Scots proceedings; he has also written to Scotland of it, and letters are come from thence to divers Covenanters and intelligencers here, which I have seen, that if I turn not my tongue and speak well of their actions it shall cost me my life. This confirms my assertion, that the north part of this Kingdom is too well affected to their proceedings, who tell them what is spoken in His Majesty's favour ... I can hardly find in all this country six men together, but two or three incline to the Scots' cause".[26]

The Scots knew well the value of the Parliament they had forced upon the King: as a tactful correspondent of the invalid Glenurquhy's expressed it, "We are all to pray God to direct them right, for under God our peace here will depend much upon their conclusion".[27] In forming this conclusion the Parliament was to have every guidance that the Scots' eloquence could persuade them to accept. Baillie assured Wariston that "Your frequent and very pressing letters, together with the approaching English Parliament, has made me use all the speed I was able (to finish "The Canterburian's Self-Conviction") ... I do verily think that a treatise of this kind were very needful at this time to be published ... for the rousing up of our slippery neighbours of England, who readily ... cannot fail to press more earnestly the King than ever

for justice on those our oppressors".[28]

A general "rousing" was administered by the paper entitled "Information from the Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland to the Kingdom of England", which Spalding reported: "In this paper is set down divers and sundry leads: 1. The form of the confederates their procedure, justifying their covenant to be lawful according to the laws of Scotland; willing therefore their neighbour Kingdom not to square their doings by the English laws, nor to take meddling between their King and them in state matters, more than they do between their King and them in state matters in England. 2. They find fault with the Earl of Traquair anent his behaviour at our Parliament, being the King's commissioner, and of some speeches spoken by him in presence of His Majesty and council of England. 3. They find fault for putting some of the lords out of council without hearing or trial. 4. They find fault with the copper coin passing for two pennies, of little or no worth. 5. They find fault with a treatise alleged set out by Mr. Walter Balcanquhall, garnished as they alleged, with 2000 calumnies and lies, and that they could not get him liable to the censure of the Scottish laws for this his slanderous writing. There is divers other regrets concerning both church and policy set down in this paper! and with all they use a friendly admonition towards Englishmen, wishing them noways to move war against the Scots, lest the papists take the advantage of their weakness, and subdue this island to popery. These are some of

the particular heads of this paper, which was imprinted: and a Scotsman called James Colvill sent out of purpose with about 2000 of these papers to England, there to disperse and spread the same through the country, to make their cause good, and their grievances intolerable".[29]

The pattern of this is the pattern of all the many Scots manifestoes to the English. First, last and above all, the self-justification, the appeal to England not to judge, but to realise their common interests. And for specific points - "church and policy" - the incendiaries, the popish danger, and, subordinated, the heart of the matter, Scotland's economic difficulties and the Scottish nobles' perpetual feud with the Crown.

At the same time as this general barrage, letters were being aimed at individual men of influence, such as this model of persuasion discharged by Rothes at Pembroke: "My Noble Lord, I had large encouragement to use freedom, both from your own favours to me, and my affection to your Lordship, and so might expostulate for withdrawing your wonted, and even lately expressed respects at the camp to this nation: you found we had reason for our lawful defence, and that we had loyal hearts to our Prince, and justice in all our designs: which moved you to plead for us, and so engaged the affections of many to you. But since when my Lord of Traquair made his relation that moved hard conclusions against us, not requiring so much as that it should not obtain truth, to the prejudice of a whole nation, till we heard an

agreeing that an army should be levied ... I have made bold therefore to entreat we may keep better correspondence, or else by mistake we may be brought again to begin a mischief that will not end in our days: as we have formerly declined it, it shall not be our faults; and it lieth in your Lordship and other great persons to prevent those evils; you have lived in as great ease and plenty as any nation in the world, and if you live to interrupt your own happiness, for the pleasure of some prelates, who will have little in the hardship and anger that will be endured, you are not well advised. The Earl of Dunfermline and Lord Loudon are sent with information of our business, they will wait upon your Lordship and expect your wonted assistance: they all as much as may be decline war, except you will needs now have it".[30]

This too in its way was typical of the Covenanters' approach, the threatened pill just peeping through the jam.

Communications were still passing freely across the Border; a group of business letters showing the ease of long familiarity found their way into the records of May 1640,[31] and for more questionable correspondence there were other established routes. On April 13, Laud's secretary received this information: "I have to signify that the party's name is Captain Audley; dwelling in Bloomsbury, near the great cherry garden. He was with me on Saturday and told me the passage of letters into Scotland the ordinary way was not safe by reason of interruption so that the Lords made use of other unknown

ways". (Endorsed "Capt. Audley, a spreader of libels and Scottish pamphlets" - good authority, therefore, on this question.)[32]

More direct contact, which doubtless Charles hoped to prevent by imprisoning the Commissioners while the Parliament sat, had been established by Dunfermline and Loudon, as Rothes promised. The Scots Commissioners were universally considered the source of a fresh flood of pamphlets, Loudon in particular being credited with five hundred.[33] He seems to have been a general clearing-house of information. The Marquis of Douglas wrote from Berwick: "There is of late come down from the Court John Haldane, a servant of Lord Loudon's, armed with His Majesty's special warrant of free passage, whose reports produce a great deal of encouragement to the people here to persist in their insolencies. He says openly that England for the most part countenances and in effect maintains the good cause ... and if the trained bands be forced to fight it will be for no disadvantage to the Covenanters".[34] Sir Michael Ernle also reported Haldane's journey, adding, "When he came to Edinburgh he declared that England did so well approve of their proceedings that they intended to take the same course, and if the Scots intended to go into England, they would be welcome, for he believed that the English would not fight against them, and this he declared in all the towns as he passed to Edinburgh".[35] Again he wrote, "The Scots get very good intelligence from Court, and I am credibly informed that Lord Haddington has for the most part one here for that purpose, and that by his means

the Lords of Scotland have had much advertisement, especially since the petitioners have been there",[36] and, "I perceive Lord Loudon will not acknowledge the bringing of any such pamphlets for England as I informed you of. There is one Patrick Hepburn, an apothecary in Edinburgh, a great Covenanter, who affirmed it to Wm. Durham, a relative of Sir James Douglas, and he affirmed it to me ... They have lately received a relation out of England of all the proceeding of the Council, both concerning the war and the Parliament".[37]

We hear of Pym, Essex, Holland, Saye and Russell "deep in council with the Commissioners at London sent from the Scotch Covenanters".[38] Presumably these councils were the occasion of the "Information for the Government" found among the State Papers of the time: "Some of the House of Commons have had conference with some or all of the Scottish Commissioners advising them to acquaint the House of Commons with the state of their grievances ... The Commissioners" would not risk punishment by the King, but told the Commons where to find copies of "The Scottish Declaration to the English" - "and upon perusal of that book, if the House would be pleased to send for them, they would come and declare all. It was resolved that the next morning (May 5) the book should have been produced, and as he conceived by Mr. Pym, who should have spoken then also in that business ... The Scots Commissioners and especially one of them whose name is Barclay have often had speech with some of the Lower House men touching these businesses".[39] This scheme is so exquisitely

suited to the Scottish methods and to Pym's that it is impossible to doubt its authenticity.

This intercourse was but slightly hindered by Loudon's imprisonment: "The Lord of Loudon remains yet in the Tower and any that please have access to him. Divers noblemen of England and ours are with him daily".[40] Wade, paying lyrical tribute to Pym's long harangue of the new Commons, might well own that "The ground for this great speech had been carefully prepared".[41] In conference with the Scots and in action among the English, the "Providence" group had been busily occupied. Bedford, Holland, Essex, Saye, Hampden and Pym, every one of them Adventurers, had met in consultation with the Scots Commissioners. The nature of these meetings is not known. Later Charles believed them to have been treasonable, nor can there be any reasonable doubt about it. It is at any rate certain that in Pym's lodgings in Gray's Inn Lane, the course to be adopted in the coming Parliament was decided. He had also, with Hampden, ridden through several counties urging that petitions should be sent to the House of Commons when it met.

In a Parliament unsure of itself and unaccustomed to its business, as this was bound to be, a small, cohesive group of determined men had a great chance to impress their views on men who could relay them to all England, and who could now support them with the power of money in their hands to give or withhold. Pym's hour had struck: he early

took command, concentrating the Commons on grievances, high on the list being "attempts to separate English and Scots". The King's long list of Scottish offences and repeated appeals for the support of the army now gathering were brushed aside. The petitions engineered by Pym were read, "of which petitions some before have said, that they are the Scottish Covenant wanting only hands":[42] one of the bishops accused Saye of "savouring of a Scottish Covenanter"[43] and was forced to beg pardon: on April 26 "the House began to have thought of giving the King money with a Declaration that it was not against the Scots, but Mr. Pym said that they would need to be careful in that point, because if it is once given who may bind to the keeping of the conditions of the gift".[44] By this time shots had actually been fired in Edinburgh. Any chance of a settlement when the King decided to accept eight subsidies instead of twelve was destroyed by Vane the elder, who, whether he persuaded the King or misrepresented him, assured the Commons that Charles would have twelve or none; immediately thereafter Charles decided or was persuaded to dissolve the Parliament. "It was observed that on the countenances of those who had most opposed all that was desired by His Majesty, there was a marvellous serenity: nor could they conceal the joy of their hearts: for they knew enough of what was to come, to conclude that the King would shortly be compelled to call another Parliament ... Mr. St. John said, with a little warmth, 'that all was well: and that it must be worse before it could be better; and

that this Parliament would never have done what was necessary to be done!".[45] It had, at least, intended to advise the King to be reconciled with the Scots, which would have been equivalent to siding openly with them.[46]

Three months were yet to pass before war again broke out; as before the First Bishops' War, the interval told against the King. He spent it in frantic efforts to raise money at home and support abroad, at one point even releasing Loudon in some wild hope of an eleventh-hour settlement. London was in a tumultous condition of unrest, outdoing in its riots the Edinburgh mob's reception of the Prayer-book, and incited to go further and murder the Bishops by tract, placards, notices, which everywhere appeared when the Parliament ended. "The dissolution of Parliament has increased the irritation of the people to such an extent that, throwing off all restraint, they have not hesitated to break into open revolt against the present government"[47] - so serious did the disorders appear to the orderly Venetian eye. "There is a general dislike of His Majesty's proceedings by all honest men in England" wrote a visiting Scot, "and wishes heartily that we were once again on foot; which I trust in God shall be very shortly. There are four aldermen in London committed (for refusing to force a loan), the whole city in effect is in a combustion" - "the truth is they are in a great disorder in England".[48]

Indeed the "honest" or Scottish party there was growing fast.

"The rumour of the Scots coming into England is more discoursed of than apprehended, their party here, which is very numerous, promising themselves rather advantage by it than loss".[49] So wrote Windebank in London. On the Borders, "The Scots report they will speedily be in England ..., they boast much of a strong party they shall find in England".[50] In Scotland itself Elizabeth Maxwell wrote to Lady Douglas, "There is such work in this country among us as it is pitiful to see wise men altogether misled with the conceit of England's help, upon which assurance we are making all the forces that can be to go there about the middle of July".[51]

Forces were being raised in England too. An army was being scraped together and herded north, a more discontented and disobedient army than that of the previous year. To the disgruntled levies, being pressed to fight in the distant northern country was far worse even than having to pay ship money appeared to inland men. In either case, the folk whose homes were in the district concerned should tackle the problem: it was no responsibility of theirs who had their livings to earn in Hampshire, Shropshire, Oxfordshire, Surrey; "London, the counties of Kent, Surrey, Essex, Harts, Bucks and Bedford are so restive that we shall not get nearly our number of men from those places".[52] To avoid conscription, men fled into the nearest forest and lived as outlaws, not very hotly pursued: for those who should have hunted them were so sympathetic that the Sheriff of Herefordshire was driven to write to the Secretary of State, "I am weary of imprisoning constables"[53] - a comical

cry of exasperation. He was presumably imprisoning them for the same reason that his fellow-sufferers, the deputy-sheriffs of Lincoln, gave for the difficulty of raising men - "the fit men fly into the woods and the constables will only report it".[54] Worse: even when a levy was scraped together, the conscripts were not accepting their fate. The Earl of Northumberland cannot have relished having to report, "The 200 men who were lately pressed in London and Middlesex mutinied last night on shipboard and 60 of them are run away. I pray procure a warrant for the pressing of 60 men to supply their room with what speed you may".[55] And more generally, "Our troops are on the march from some of the counties, but they run away so fast that scarce half the numbers will appear at the rendezvous in the north".[56] "In the county of Dorset, and others where they are collecting soldiers to send to the Scottish frontier, when the news of the dissolution of Parliament arrived as they were about to march, they stopped and steadily refused to serve against that people. Such acts as these meet with great approbation and declarations that the example will be followed".[57]

"In short, we find a confusion;" wrote the deputy-lieutenants of Kent, "some will not go beyond their counties, others will not go into Scotland, all are yeomen and farmers who say they must be as assuredly undone by going as by refusing ... They have thrust out their rugged resolutions in this language, take one and take all, and then forsaking rank and file they fell into disorder".[58]

The men of the south, then, either refused to move outside their county or travelled as guerrillas in enemy territory. All the causes for disaffection which had wrecked that earlier army were still active, sharpened and spread by the events of the year, the meeting of Parliament and its dissolution; "The treaty and pacification of the preceding year had given an opportunity of forming correspondences, and contriving designs, which before had been more clandestine; and the late meeting in Parliament had brought many together, who could not otherwise have met, and discovered humours and affections, which could not else have been so easily communicated".[59] So the forces that finally gathered in the north were more of a menace to their commanders than to the Covenant.

Nor were the King's permanent garrisons in the North in better shape. The Governor of Edinburgh Castle, Ruthven Lord Ettrick, repeatedly wrote that he could not trust his men, nor the people of the city. "Though yet in all respects they keep a fair correspondence with me, yet they are not to be trusted",[60] for when it came to some such practical issue as a supply of ammunition, "My Lord Commissioner and myself have in vain used our endeavours, but we find the people more ready to cut our throats than to let us have one barrel of powder or match".[61] Thus the Governor was reduced to imploring Charles to be careful. "I beseech you for God's sake to hearken to your Commissioner, and not disagree with this headstrong people, unless you come against

them with an army befitting your royal person, and by which you may be sure to command them as their King."[62]

Unfortunately, the only army Charles could muster was already showing itself to be at best a broken reed, at worst a boomerang. Studying the situation with the dispassionate military eye, the Governor of Guernsey wrote temperately to his colleague in Jersey, "I shall be very sorry that the two armies should approach each other as to hazard an encounter, for I fear our nation will not perform that resolution against the Scots in this quarrel which formerly they have done in other".[63]

The Scots, on the other hand, were once more making the best use of their time. The Convention of Estates, an unofficial Parliament which had met in April, soon had the country back in fighting shape. Parliament itself met in defiance of the King's prorogation, and although there was an ominous difference on the subject between the leaders, they could still agree on decisive concerted action. The Acts still unapproved by Charles were declared law, and under the Committee the north was reduced to obedience.

Uniting Scotland behind them, the Covenanters did not neglect their English allies. They had "had no will to stir till the English Parliament concluded",[64] and now that they were stirring to 'some purpose, their hasty preparations paused to consider English reactions with a thrifty fear of giving offence. "Because it would be troublesome

to these of England, who were much delighted with their planting, if our army should cut down timber for building of their huts, they prayed that the honest women (of Edinburgh) might be tried what webbs of linen or sheets they might spare, that every four soldiers might be accomodated in a tent of eight ell."[65] The final step of invasion was heralded with the most anxious appeals and protestations to the English people; but before that step was taken, the ground had been tested by more direct methods.

On June 23 Wariston wrote to Savile to suggest that England should take some form of Covenant and that some of the English nobles should guarantee their support to a Scottish invasion. Savile first returned an answer signed by Bedford, Essex, Brooke, Warwick, Saye, Mandevile and himself, assuring the Scots of their continued support in a legal way for their common interest; and when this was unsatisfactory, he sent a pledge of full support to which he forged the signatures. Thus assured of English support - we hear in the Glenurquhy correspondence that "there are divers advertisements come from our friends in England requiring us to make all the haste that possibly may be"[66] - the Covenanters prepared to cross the border.

Some unknown Scot wrote jubilantly to an English friend, "Honest and kind friend, provide as you write, and advertise the honest lads near you, that they may advertise others who are of the faithful, for we know as well what the honest King does in his bedchamber, as that

Papist wench that lies by his side ... For the (English) Lords we had a trial of them last year, they have been most of them gotten with luneys and jockeys, save three or four, which we fear will be too honest and ceremonious to a King which has not a heart to recommend the brave". (Advertisements out of Scotland transmitted to Lord Conway)[67] With Savile's forgery given credence, with encouragements pouring in from such knowledgeable sources as Loudon's servants and the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, according to the hint above and many others, the Scots had every reason to feel confident. Yet they were still not altogether happy at the prospect of invasion, fearing still lest they alienate English sympathy, and knowing that in spite of all their efforts they were not yet as fully supplied as prudence would have chosen. Baillie, always inclined to be pessimistic, explained their resources thus: "The maintainance of our army was founded upon the tenth penny of our estate and hopes from England: the valuation of men's estates drew to great length, let be the payment: from England there was no expectation of monies till we went to fetch them".[68] "An Information from the Scottish Nation" was issued, formally announcing that the Scots were coming to England to seek justice from the King and vengeance on his evil counsellors, but not as an invading enemy - far from it: their great desire was to accept the decision of an English Parliament. These eager professions of goodwill reached London on August 12th; on August 20 the Scots crossed the border.

Charles and Strafford hastened north to no purpose: the Scots had the better of a skirmish at Newburn, where "the night and the near wood, and most of all our goodwill to the English nation, hindered our pursuit of the victory";[69] the next day Newcastle was in their hands. They had their troubles, as the veteran Leslie and the civilian Baillie alike bear witness; many deserters, and always the fear of antagonizing the people before the promised open support should come: "of our English friends, either their money or men, as was long ago expected, we cannot hear".[70] This is the result of Savile's forgery. "If we trouble in the least sort the country of England, we are feared for their rising against us":[71] but they were careful not to give offence, and there was as yet no sign of such a rising. "They hurt no man in any kind, they pay for what they take, so that the country doth give them all the assistance it can. Many of the country gentlemen do come to them, entertain and feast them."[72] This lends colour to the suspiciously biassed Lilly's touching picture: "the English and Scots (having now lived like brethren or natives, or people of one Nation, one amongst another, for almost forty years, and having intermarried one with another, both the Nobility, or Gentry, and others) they thought it a very strange thing, and not lawful, or convenient, that this nation should now take up arms and engage against the Scots, only to satisfy ... a few priests".[73]

Fragments of the propaganda machine which encouraged this

outlook were washed up into the State archives, giving us an idea of the scope and thoroughness of its work. One soldier examined by Windebank related that a certain Ed. Cole "having ascertained that he was a soldier ... told examinant that there were books come from Scotland signifying what they intended to do in England, and asked him what he would say if he should show him one of them, adding that he (Cole) would warrant that if he and the rest of the soldiers had such a book amongst them they would make fine sport with it. Examinant replied that he would go a mile to read such a book, whereupon Cole (gave him one) ...Before his departure Cole desired him not to tell where he had the book, nor discover his name, for if it were known that a rich man had such a book it were as much as his living were worth, but that the soldiers might use it". Another man examined on the same day (August 29th) deposed that "he heard Mr. Crawford, parson of Brockhall say that he had a letter from the Scots army ... When they came to the English army the English soldiers embraced them and offered to be on their side, but they told them it should not need, for they came not to fight, nor would they hurt any of them, but would only go to the King and have some abuses reformed, amongst which they named the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which two were the grievances they came about, besides some other".[74]

Sub-secretary Read was still at his task of searching and confiscating: in one house alone he found sixteen treasonable items,

which, as the Editor of the State Papers remarks, "would appear to have been of considerable historical interest".[75] Unfortunately, only Winiebank's note of the papers remains: there are ten which directly concerned the Scottish affairs. "1. The Scottish Scouts' discoveries. 3. A collection of the passages of the Assembly at Glasgow, Nov. 1638. 4. Copy of a letter from Edinburgh of the 18 August 1639, describing the manner and order of the proceedings of the Assembly. 5. The general Acts of the late Assembly at Edinburgh, 12 August 1639. 8. The late proceedings in Scotland. 9. The Scots answer to the Proclamation in England, dated 27 February 1638-9. 10. The speech of the trusty Marquis Hamilton. 11. Copy of a letter to a gentleman in Norfolk concerning the Scottish business. 12. Articles of the Peace. 13. Reasons for a General Assembly made by the Scots to His Majesty, 29 June 1638."[76]

Mr. Vassall, in whose possession these papers were found and of whom there is no other record, had obviously made it his business to collect all the information he could of every stage of the Scottish troubles. The private letters must be given up for lost, and though several "accounts" and "collections" of the Assembly survive, we cannot be sure that Vassall's version agreed with any. Proclamations and Articles, of course, survive: the interest there is simply in that shown by the man who collected them at such a risk. Finally, there is the "Scottish Scouts' discoveries".

This lengthy document is very similar in form to the tracts circulated in London thinly disguising propaganda under the pretence of being official reports. "The Scottish Scouts' Discoveries", however, is so prolix that we cannot imagine its being put together for this purpose, particularly as the contents are more factual and moderate than those of the tracts in general. Whatever the spirit in which it was written, its account of contemporary topics remains valuable, for the general English attitude towards the Scots, which we are considering, is shown as plainly in what was judged likely to please readers of tracts as in serious observations for private study. We may here add some extracts from it to our survey of English opinion; it is quoted at greater length in the Appendix to Chapter II.

"As I came through Kent I saw much mustering and preparing of men and arms to send into Scotland, this had almost made a mutiny amongst them, some said it was done purposely to weaken the country, others said it was an ill example for after ages ...

A lordly loon sware me out of ten shillings with his merry conceits of his Questions and Answers amongst which these were a part: What hunting is most in use? The fox in the forest and the cony in the court. What is that which few men love and most men hate? The curse of a cuckold and the pride of a prelate. What are the two most evils in the commonwealth? Covetousness of the Clergy and convention of the commonalty.

"In a collier's cart at Croydon ... they fell to singing ... and the bearing of the song was this:

> O good King Charles blame not my pen
> Spare your purse and save your men
> Give Laud to the Scots and hang up Wren
> The echo answered still Amen.

"In all the country as I cam along there was a great complaint of

the decay of trading. The farmers and sheep masters blame the Clothiers The Clothiers the merchants and drapers and they lay the fault on the troubles in Scotland which hinders their traffic but some of them say they could find it out nearer home if they durst discover it.

"(His Majesty) hath promised to build a fair frontispiece to walk in without Paul's which now stands at a stay until he have first repaired the ruins of his own mother kirk in Scotland which some think will prove Paul's work itself.

"One Sunday at one Mr. Shut's parish church a Bill was delivered that John Commonwealth of England (being sick of the Scots disease) desires the prayers of the congregation for calling a Parliament, the great physician of the kingdom to cure their infinite infirmities."

And finally, two of the camp songs typical of the spirit of the royal army:

"No enemy's face yet have we seen Nor foot set on your ground
But here we lie in open fields With rain like to be drowned.
The earth's my bed, when I am laid a turf it is my pillow
Our canopy tis the sky above, My laurel is turned to willow.
Then mighty Mars withhold thy hand And Jove thy fury cease
That so we may (as all do pray) Return again in peace."

"Fight who will we will not draw our swords
Gainst those who for bad deeds returned good words
We found their love and know they mean no ill
Then let's shake hands be friends and brethren still." [77]

The Scots had plainly no need for any immediate fears and, once established in Durham, were able to resume the part of peace-loving supplicators, - "we resolve to go no further in till we see what our friends intend".[78]

Rather, they tried to consolidate the good impression they had made. They circulated the story of the tents given by the women of Edinburgh to spare the English hedges,[79] and it was said, "they are so careful not to do harm that they have ordered by strict proclamation

on pain of death not to disturb man woman or child, nor to take the worth of a chicken or pot of ale without paying for it; so no manner of hurt has yet been done to any man, either in corn or meadows. - August 21".[80] Again, with the Scots Demands to the King there went south"a Declaration to London"[81] that no harm was intended to London's supply of coals from Newcastle by the Scots, their friends. And from York Vane wrote, "They (the Scots) have sent for the sheriff and gentlemen of that county to appear before them, they pretend for their good and the peace of the country, but I much apprehend it is to draw them into the Covenant, which they, especially the tenants of the Church, being disgusted with the clergy there, who have held too hard a hand upon them, may be but too apt to embrace ... We have sufficient men, but it is to be doubted if in this cause we should have their hands and hearts, for they receive it as orthodox that the rebels have been the redeemers of their religion and liberty ... It is more than high time something should be done to settle the distempers with you in the South, which the rebels expect should every day break out".[82]

There is no need to question the authenticity of Vane's statement, when so many others agreed that "The Scots needed not now advance their progress, the game was in the hands (no prejudice to their skill) of better gamesters ... the people being everywhere so like to bid them welcome".[83]

The next move was, obviously, to bring Charles to treat, the

ultimate aim an English Parliament. Neither would present any great difficulty. Charles had no effective force to withstand the Scots if they chose to march again, and no money to maintain longer his ramshackle army or to buy off the invaders: whatever might be required of him, though he most certainly would hesitate and argue, he must eventually yield. The game was to be played decorously, however, with all the trappings of obedience and respect which the Scots had hitherto found convenient. An appearance of decent legality was dear to the crabbed logic of the Scottish character; but it had already proved itself a useful practical weapon as well. A trifling irregularity in the language of the prorogation, for instance, had enabled the Estates to adjudge themselves correct in ignoring it; and so a Parliament met without the King, and attacked him, with the blessing of his laws; an example noted and followed in England, when the polite fiction of the evil counsellors became an excuse to destroy the upholders of the King, and the Scottish habit of quibbling was developed till the English Parliament could wage war on Charles in his own name.

Petitions were the vehicle for demands in this dawn of propaganda; on successive days Charles received the Scots and the English. They echoed each other in demanding that an English Parliament should meet to redress grievances: Gardiner well supposes that the Peers' Petition, concocted by St. John and Pym, "was probably only a copy with slight alterations of the Remonstrance, to avoid the

presentation of which the Short Parliament had been dissolved".[84] "Then did zealots say that Lord Haddington and Mr. Borthwick had not laboured in vain, the work should shortly begin in that Kingdom (England) also. The King was said to be much affected."[85]

"They have sent a special messenger to the King with a petition full of the most studious terms of respect, but in no way differing from the manifesto of the English earls and barons, thus showing ever more clearly the secret communication between the two, the English being informed of their coming and approving of their stay."[86] In point of fact, Savile's forgery had misled the Scots into expecting much more decisive support. Disappointed, they seem to have expressed the feeling strongly: "I perceive by those who are come from Scotland that there they are in great fear that England will not be true to them".[86a] On the grounds given them by Savile, they might well consider themselves justified in complaining, "We get but little encouragement from our friends in the South: they sent us indeed a paper of intelligence, but no money";[87] but financial worries were nearly over. The Great Council of Peers which Charles was forced to summon could only recommend a Parliament. Hamilton, as usual, diffused an atmosphere of loyal gloom, and now contrived to improve on his exploit at Berwick to secure his welcome on any victorious side. Preparing Charles with an elaborate story of his own danger, he suggested "That he might endear himself to the other party by promising his service to them, and

seeming to concur with them in opinions and design; the which he had reason to believe the principal persons would not be averse to"; whereupon Charles "commanded him to ingratiate himself by any means with the other people", which he effectually did.[88] But although he grew to have no less interest in the Parliament than in the Scottish Commissioners, Hamilton "gave to the King many advertisements, which, if there had been persons enough who would have concurred in prevention, might have proved of great use".[89] His own skin secure, he was not false to Charles, and if Charles' counsellors could have believed it (says Clarendon) he would have proved it.

In the meantime, Charles called a Parliament for November 3, and sixteen nobles were appointed to treat with the Scots; all were in favour of an agreement, and the leader was the loyal, but moderate and practical, Bristol. Meetings were held at Ripon during the months that elapsed before the Parliament, and terms for a cessation and a transfer of the treaty-discussion to London were arranged. Important as this negotiation was, taking place between representatives of the two countries without the over-riding presence of the King, we should not look for any startling disclosures in the full but official record which survives.[90] The first entry in Boroughs' "Notes" precludes any such idea: "Memorandum, that on the 29th day of September 1640 the Earl of Bedford being desired by the Lords Commissioners that were to go to Ripon, to know His Majesty's pleasure, whether he would permit and

give them leave, when they met with the Scots Commissioners at Ripon, to have communication apart with any of the said Scots Commissioners, to debate or argue, or to find how far any matter agitated or debated might be brought on, as a preparatory to what was then in treaty, His Majesty was pleased to approve of that motion, and gave allowance, that any of his Lords Commissioners might there confer with the Scots Commissioners, in private or public, about any matter that might conduce to the advantage of the treaty they were sent about". With permission from Charles to meet in private, friends and possible allies would naturally echo Bristol's cool formality of tone in the officially reported meetings.

These meetings were in fact conducted in no very co-operative spirit. It was the first prolonged and practical discussion between English and Scottish sympathisers, and inevitably a closer acquaintance with their brethren's principles and modes of action proved disconcerting to both sides. The English nobles resented the grasping, domineering determination shown by the invaders, who in their turn expected definite help from their pledged allies and from the others the admissions of their victors' rights to dictate terms, and grew impatient when both failed them. Baillie's letters from the camp contain not a few "doubts of the English policy in this treaty"[91] and tirades against the lack of spirit of a country that will not stir itself to the one effort necessary to win freedom. It was inevitable that Savile's forgery

should be discovered, and although, the event not being unwelcome, his provoking the invasion brought him no direct punishment, his often pleading of it did not help him in the disgrace which his trimming later incurred from the Parliamentary side. "So the first work (the forcing of Parliament) was done to their hands, and they had now nothing to do but to dispose matters in order against that time, which could not well be done without a more overt conversation with the Scots. For though there was an intercourse made, it passed for the most part through hands whom the chief had no mind to trust: as the lord Savile ... They began now to know that he had long held correspondence with the Scots before their coming in, and invited them to enter the Kingdom with an army: in order to which he had counterfeited the hands of some other lords, and put their names to some undertaking of joining with the Scots, and therefore they were resolved to take that negotiation out of his hands (without drawing any prejudice upon him for his presumption), which they had quickly an opportunity to do." - Clarendon.[92] After this explanation had taken place, the treaty went stiffly ahead; after all, Savile had some reason to claim in later days that "If this Parliament have done any great matters for the public, or are in a condition more free than other Parliaments, God who governs all things and knows all secrets, knows this, that if I were not at first the only, yet I was (though Unworthy) His chiefest instrument to bring it to pass".[93]

The preliminary question of "advisers" settled, the English moved

that the Pacification of Berwick should be the "ground of treaty", but the Scots knew their position to be stronger than it was when those terms had been arranged: "Condition of times do alter" said Loudon, "and they crave now redress as things do stand".[94] Accordingly a fresh set of conditions was drafted, and various hindrances removed, such as the very limited authority of the Scots to alter or abandon any of their instructions, which was eventually increased to a "competency to treat". The King desired an adjournment to York, but as in other points the Scots were obstinate in refusing. "The Scots, who give the law, will not" writes Vane. "They depart not from their grounds one tittle."[95] They insisted, "The maintainance of our army ... of necessity must be previous to all treaty and cessation of arms".[96] Again they declared this determination. "Nothing is more heartily wished of us and of those that sent us than that the Treaty may begin timeously and end happily. This moved us in our last proposition to desire to know what your Lordships did conceive to be a competency for the maintenance of our Army, and now after His Majesty is acquainted therewith, we desire to know His Majesty's mind, that the Army being provided for in a competent manner, and so much being made known to such as sent us, according to the instructions which we have received from them which make the maintenance of the army previous to the Treaty, we may with all diligence shew them His Majesty's pleasure concerning the change of the place, and new power to be granted for concluding".[97]

It was natural for them to insist on securing their commanding position, and there was nothing for the English to do but conciliate them with frequent deprecatory murmurs that "they are in a country of friends, and such as did never harm them; not to stir up friends to be enemies, we are their friends, that never did them wrong". When the Scots demurred at the offer of £25,000, Bristol made the comically pathetic rejoinder "A good army to be maintained with that sum, and sorry it should not be accepted of their good neighbours with much love and kindness"! But in the hard bargaining that followed we recognize the tone of the squabbles in London; there was little brotherly affection and less patience in the brisk exchanges. "The sum offered is a very good contribution. - A good contribution, but not a competency. - We have done all we can. - They can go no lower. - The country puts itself to the uttermost of its power, and therefore not".[98]

The bargain must be struck. There was no real intention of entering upon the all-important "grievances" till the negotiations were in London under the wing of a Parliament, in which, the Scots made plain, their hopes were placed. "Peace certainly there will be none" wrote Vane, "unless ratified by the Parliament of England, as well as that of Scotland".[99] Parliament was to arrange for the full payment of the £850 per diem which the Scots were promised, "for two months, or until our peace shall be secured by Parliament". It was even suggested that the Commissioners' safe-conduct should be guaranteed by Parliament,

though here the English Lords did insist that it was too great an insult to the King. "Lest any more time, which is now so precious, by means of the approaching Parliament, be lost",[100] the cessation was arranged, the Scots to receive £850 per diem and to remain in the northern counties until the treaty should be concluded in London. The English Commissioners were asked by Charles in the Grand Council whether they recommended him to agree to these terms: there could be but one answer, but their way of expressing it is interesting: "They found that it could not but be held derogatory both to the power of the King and Kingdom, to treat at all with subjects, and such as had already actually possessed themselves of several provinces of this Kingdome. They found likewise many of the Articles unfit to have been condescended to by any Army that had been but in a probable condition of defence", and therefore justified them by a recapitulation of the reasons and motives which made them necessary. The Lord Lieutenant had reported that the King's army could not oppose the Scots, and there was no hope of being able to pay even this useless army; therefore the Commissioners advise the confirmation of the Articles "conceiving it to be great wisdom in a prince in cases of necessity to dispense with the first rules of honour for the safety and preservation of his estates and people" - and contriving by an undertone in this bland and blameless recital to lay an illogical and vague taint of blame upon the doomed head of the Lord Lieutenant.[101]

The Great Council dissolved, the Cessation was agreed, the Parliament was due. Pym and Hampden were riding about the country in the first recorded electioneering campaign, and "There is great shufflings of burgesses for the Parliament":[102] great things were expected of this Parliament, and the Scots, at once its cause and its safeguard, were the heroes of the hour. This was indeed the time of their greatest popularity in England. Their ceaseless propaganda had long been accustoming the people to believe that the two countries had hopes, grievances, enemies, all in common, all to be dealt with by Parliaments. Their hopes were for light taxes, their grievances, infringements of liberty and property caused by their enemies - Strafford and his oppressions, Laud and Rome! "The opinion is grown general that whoever is not Scottishly must be Popishly affected":[103] experience of the Scots would reveal the hard crusading core of their religious zeal, bitter of taste, that would stick in the English throat; but that sour day was yet to come. As for Strafford, the arm of force, the dictator, the tyrant - his steady, scornful hostility to their nation had ensured that the Scots did truly long for his destruction and intend as forcefully as any English enemy of his that "when the Parliament sits the day will come that shall pay for all".[104] The punishment of the false counsellors was the immediate aim, the redress of grievances would follow: the Scots were eager for both and to them was due the Parliament which was to see both accomplished ...

The atmosphere in London was this: "We are all made with joy here that His Majesty calls his Parliament, and that he puts the Scotch business into the hands of his Peers, who, the hope is, will make peace on any conditions".[105] From a Royalist point of view, it was, "On the 22nd of August I arrived at London, where I find all things in a miserable condition, one man banding against another and all discontented ... I fear the state has been very ill advised for we have neither money nor hearts to maintain a war, and have drawn the enemy into the heart of the country"[106] - and yet not far enough to satisfy the discontented, for men were being arrested for saying openly, "The Scots' army now in the north were honest men, and if they were all here at London, they would find as many would take their part as the King's".[107]

The unfortunate folk of the north, who already felt the hand of the occupation army heavy on their necks, would hardly have joined in the chorus of praise and affection; they were already more concerned with petitions for relief. Already "complaints had been given in by Durham, Northumberland and some of Newcastle of grievances said to be committed by our (Scottish) Army"[108], and immediately a detailed denial was published, explaining away the charges over twenty paragraphs of justification. Nevertheless, it was inevitable that the occupied counties should be made to contribute to the Scots' keep. "They paid for what they took the first two days of their march, and afterward pretended the prices were too dear and so took what they wanted,

especially of Recusants' goods. At Newcastle the soldiers pilfered very much, whereupon some of them were hanged, for a pretence I conceive to blind the people".[109]

"To blind the people" was as ever a first object with the Scots: but the contributions levied had already caused the scales to fall from at least one pair of eyes: an Alderman of Newcastle was writing a positive dirge to a friend in London, the wholehearted recantation in which, at this early date, is highly significant: "The apprehension of Popery and innovation in religion did trouble us all, but he that should now look back upon our conditions would scarce believe this the lively remedy. For my part I assure you had I known what I now find I should much have preferred to suffer as a martyr for my religion than to run the hazard of being a traitor to my country, which he who helps not His Majesty will find himself to be too late. God grant this viperous brood so freely received into the belly of this Kingdom do not eat through the bowels of their fosterers, for I assure you where they shall govern we shall find them proud lords."[110]

About the same time a correspondent of Windebank was also beginning to grasp the complication of motive: "Concerning the causes of the Scots invasion, the writer believes the question to be rather a King, or no King, than a bishop, or no bishop. I think their quarrel with the King is that which they may have with the sun, he does not warm or visit them as much as others. God and nature have placed them

in the shade, and they are angry at the King of England for it".[111] The northerners were in fact beginning to suspect that they had brought a predatory King Stork among them.

But for the present theirs were lone voices in the wilderness which, from outside its borders, was hailed as peace. The rest of England was engaged in hymning the practical blessings of brotherly love. London, as usual the seething centre of popular feeling, was full of the tracts and popular songs which best express the feeling of the time:

> "Come hither each true Christian heart and see:
> But bring a thankful, joyful heart with thee.
> Come see (I say) to God's eternal praise
> His miracles of mercy in thy days
> ... How God stirred up our Scottish brethren brave
> As friends, not foes, justice with us to crave ..."[112]

Again, "Gramercy Good Scot" gloated over the confusion of all "projectors, promoters, informers", now to lose their revenues - "The tide is now turned, let's drink to their pot, And merrily sing, Gramercy good Scot." The Catholics too are doomed through three verses, and the Scottish Commissioners could be sure of a welcome at the beginning of their task:

> "Although this our land aboundeth in crimes
> The Parliament hopes we shall have good times.
> Then let us not faint like things without hope,
> A halter for traitors, a fig for the Pope,
> Let Spain and the strumpet of Babylon plot,
> Yet shall we be safe, Gramercy good Scot.
>
> The miser shall give all away to the poor,
> The city shall cozen the country no more.
> Oppression put down, then justice shall smile,
> French toys and Popery we'll banish the isle,
> Religion shall flourish without any plot,
> When this comes to pass, Gramercy good Scot."[113]

CHAPTER III

November 1640 - August 1641

"We were extremely welcome here; the City is desirous we should lodge with them; all things here goes as our hearts could wish."[1] The Scottish Commissioners found themselves the popular idols, on their first coming to London, and while enthusiastic audiences crowded their chapel, many ministers throughout the city "used greater freedom than was ever heard of",[2] doubtless in compliment to and encouraged by the visiting brethren. "The ministers of the church delivered from their pulpits seditious sermons ... exalting to the skies the generosity of the Scots they positively assured the people that these were angels sent by God to deliver the kingdom from idolatry and tyranny."[3] In the very earliest days all was harmony; ever as the Parliament grew more secure, the necessary union grew more unwelcome, but while Parliament was yet new the Scots found "beyond our expectations"[4] all go well.

This new Parliament was concerned about its Commons with a bustle of subterfuge reminiscent of the northern meetings of 1638. "They took great care to remove as many of the members as they suspected not to be inclinible to their passions, on pretence "that they were not regularly chosen", that so they might bring in others more compliable in their places",[5] and they had contrived to exclude Gardiner, the King's choice for Speaker, from all the seats for which

he was entered. Clarendon draws a vivid picture of the determination of Pym and his fellows to work out their own ideas of "thorough"; and when Charles brought Strafford to London, they had cause to be glad of their care; the "utterly unknown" Clotworthy had been manoeuvred from Ireland into one of Bedford's boroughs by the Barrington-Warwick coterie and was at hand to open the hurriedly advanced attack. Strafford once removed from their midst on a charge of treason, the Parliament men could in safety go about preparing their accusations against him and the King's other advisers, arranging the triumphal return of Prynne, Bastwick and Burton, attacking monopolists and threatening the Catholics and Episcopalians alike. All these moves were, designedly, popular ones; it is always easiest to concentrate public feeling on individual figures. Strafford, Laud and their associates stood for tyranny in the public eye, as the trio of returning prisoners were the heroes of liberty: London hissed or cheered as they crossed the stage, and worked itself into a state of hysteria, enjoyable to the crowds and satisfactory to the men who were presently to use them.

The Scots, who were just now the height of fashion, took an active part in all this. Their vigorous sermons encouraged the Puritans, and they reported "The courage of this people grows daily, and the number not only of people, but of preachers, who are for rooting out Episcopacy: all are for bringing them very low, but who

will not root them clean away, are not respected". There were, indeed, a few Separatists among the leaders, but "these and the rest who are for the Scots discipline do amicably conspire in one to overthrow the Bishops and Ceremonies, hoping that when these rudera are put away, that they shall well agree to build a new house, when the ground has been well sweeped".[6] It is always easier to pull down a house than to rebuild it, and this very "rooting out" was to split the Parliament into warring factions; but meanwhile, though Baillie's estimate was, as usual, over-confident, most of them were agreed to dismantle the system which had so nearly made the King independent, even had it not been necessary for the English to humour their all-powerful allies.

This they were utterly determined to do, as was clear from the Parliament's first day. The King's initial appeal against "my rebels" was no more than an opportunity to show how the Scots could trust them. "He had called the House partly for the driving them out, and partly for the taking off grievances", indeed! Two days later, "The King excuseth himself for calling the Scots Rebels in his first speech, and he sayeth that since the laying down of arms he now entertaineth them as his subjects, and that he would not be mistaken as if he now called them together to make a war again".[7] And having briskly disposed of the King's vague hopes, the Commons proceeded to ordain that "Our brethren of Scotland" should be always so named,

"and upon that, wonderfully kind compliments passed, of a sincere resolution of unity and union between the two nations".[8] Sir William Witherington, who also named the Scots rebels, was more openly compelled to apologise.[9] The Treaty of Ripon was approved, and Commissioners appointed to continue it. Money for the armies was voted; after the first of many delays, it was even paid; demonstrations of goodwill could go no further.

It was quite obvious to the intelligent onlooker that an alliance had in fact been sought and must now be continued. "They (the Scots) have sent a special messenger to the King with a petition full of the most studious terms of respect, but in no way differing from the manifesto of the English earls and barons, thus showing over more clearly the secret communication between the two, the English being informed of their coming and approving of their stay ... It is the common opinion that (the negotiations) will proceed slowly, the English conspiring tacitly at the sojourn of a hostile force in their country until the fabric of their far-reaching designs has reached perfection".[10]

Yet almost from the start there were signs of trouble in store. It was inevitable that some among the Commons should feel the sting in the position reported by Bristol. Hales spoke of "the Scottish nation that forcibly hath entered into our Kingdom" with a touch of asperity, but recollected himself and continued "better it were the Scots come

into us, than the devil should raise his army to overthrow us". He urged the enforcement of the old penal laws against the Catholics, "which will give a good satisfaction to the Scots who makes this as one of their chiefest intents and causes of coming into England, which we wish they had no worse intents, and since I am sure it will be a means to try their intents and our own too, and then we may hope to entreat the Scots to stay our leisure till we have dealt with matters at home to make us the more capable by time and occasion to handle and consider the business by itself, for better it is to live in fear of our purses (if money be the matter they expect) than to suffer time to endanger the state of our souls".[11] This tangled speech is probably a very fair example of opinion; distrust of the Scots, determination, since they are here, to use them, show plain through the doubtful phrases. Rudyard, thanking the Lords Commissioners for their efforts, employs much the same tone, recalling that the Scots had originally declared they would take nothing but what they paid for, and picturing the sorry state of the northern counties and the whole country's finance, with distinct reproach of the Scots' demands. "Notwithstanding Sir" - Rudyard jerks himself back into line in turn - "I shall most willingly and heartily afford the Scots whatsoever is just, equitable and honourable, even to a convenient, considerable round sum of money towards their losses and expenses, that we may go off with a friendly and a handsome loss". A moment later, he warns, "It was never yet

thought, Mr. Speaker, any great wisdom overmuch to trust a successful Sword. A man that walks upon a rising ground, the further he goes, the larger is his prospect. Success enlarges men's desires, extends their ambition, it breeds thoughts in them they never thought before: This is natural and usual". But this is immediately followed by, "But the Scots being truly touched with religion, according to their profession, that only is able to make them keep their word: For religion is stronger and wiser than reason, or reason of state": and the speech trails away into a decorous ending.[12] "Are not our lives in danger," cries the ever dramatic Digby, when a provoked enemy is as it were suffered (because indirectly and in vain resisted) to come almost into our bosom, to rifle some of their goods, others of their loyalty, which perhaps they could not, neither would have touched, might we with united force have resisted?" But again, the same speaker twists round, this time against the "incendiaries": "The Scots we have heard branded traitors, because they have contrary to the law of nations and their loyalty invaded our land in arms: what other title have they merited, who have invaded our laws and liberties, the precious evidence by which we enjoy our estates?"[13] Parliament was too much occupied with impeaching the King's servants, and above all with the business of Strafford, to think overmuch about expelling the costly but friendly strangers within their gates; though the "Diurnal Occurrences of both Houses" might report soothingly that "The Treaty between the English and Scottish ministers goes successively on and 'tis conceived there

will be a full conclusion and agreement shortly",[14] there was a difference between the written and the spoken word: "Nothing frays all here so much as our quick agreeing with the King, and the disbanding of our army thereupon. Under God, they all everywhere profess that they are owing to that army their religion, liberties, parliaments, and all they have; that if we take conditions for ourselves, they are undone".[15]

In this atmosphere of noise and hurry, the actual negotiations began quietly in a house in the Palace Yard. The King appeared at the first meeting (19 November), as he had done at Berwick, and had doubtless hoped to do at York, would the Scots have agreed to move there from Ripon. "He is come to hear their demands being often desired And will grant them an answer with advice of the Lords."[16] Charles could not understand that neither side intended to allow his presence to hamper their arrangements, and tried to counter the Scots' argument that his attendance invalidated his commissions with, "Let us not go according to strict law but whether do you think that I will not do you the same right that others": a pertinent point enough, but the direct personal appeal had no chance against the bland wall of the answer, "They do but only stand upon the formalities" - an indication that they did think exactly as His Majesty suggested. Alone with his Commissioners, Charles found that they too opposed him, and grew desperate. "I do not suspect you, but am here first to answer things

of which you are not so thoroughly informed. Secondly, because I shall perhaps yield to things being present which I would not upon relation." How like Charles this was! The lofty tone of superiority in his first sentence, and the stooping to pathetic bribery in the second - neither was to be of any use. "The King may be informed by relation of the Commissioners" said Rothes, closing the argument with polite finality; and, uttering the thought that must have been filling the room, the King answered "A great difference between an eye and ear witness", and left the scene for good. His future part was to receive the Scots' demands from his own Commissioners, to return, almost always, a few preliminary objections, and then, inevitably, to yield his consent.

The pattern of the new few days was to be repeated again and again. The subject discussed was the confirmation of the Scottish Acts of Parliament, which was secured after some evasion by the King, but its discussion was several times interrupted by the Scots' polite but firm requests for money, and the English assurance that it was receiving attention. It was also agreed that Scottish strongholds should be fortified and that no oaths contrary to the Covenant need be taken by Scots in England, and the vexed question of the dismissal and punishment of incendiaries was argued through December. The King sent for the Scots Commissioners and tried to persuade them to abandon the article: the first of those personal interviews which in

the course of the winter won Rothes and probably others as well to the royal side, although the earliest attempts met with little success: "The King one day sent for our noblemen, another for all our commissioners together, the third for Rothes alone, wherein he dealt so effectually as might be to pass over the article or refer it to himself. But ... our instructions ... did herein permit (Rothes) to grant nothing".[17] When this proved useless Charles returned a series of vague and gracious deferments, till "Our Commissioners did show the English, that their commission was from the King and the Parliament, and we did treat with them in that quality; therefore we required them to communicate with the Parliament that long debated difference; being hopeful, that that wise counsel would advise His Majesty to grant us our demand ... This was our last and sure refuge".[18] It was, indeed, sure; and the article was forthwith confirmed.

During its agitation other events had been claiming the attention of the envoys. The London petition against Episcopacy, signed with fifteen thousand names and presented by a crowd of fifteen hundred, touched off a nervous debate in the House of Commons, as yet unprepared for the mass agitations which the New Year would bring. The Scottish and English charges against Laud and Strafford were published simultaneously, after an interesting exchange in the meeting of 16th December: "The Lords begin with reading the conclusion of the paper charging the Archbishop of Canterbury, saying that this was not a

particular charge against the Archbishop of Canterbury, but against Episcopacy in general and therefore deem it might be omitted ... Mr. Henderson maketh an apology for that part whereby he saith they do not presume to prescribe to the Parliament what to do concerning Episcopacy: though in their experience they have found it prejudicial".[19]

At all costs Laud and Strafford were to be attacked jointly. "Our process against Canterbury and the Lieutenant are now ready. The English are panting for these two process. The English hold off to meddle with these two men till we be ready to join."[20] This had now been arranged, and the costs were to follow. The State Papers of these weeks are full of despairing letters between the unfortunate men responsible for paying the English army, who were struggling with an almost impossible task; as early as February 8, "there was a report made to the House of Commons that the soldiers in Yorkshire were entered into blood for want of their pay";[21] but it was the Scottish army's needs that were being impressed upon the Parliament. On the 17th December, "There was a conference between the two Houses where the Earl of Bristol made known the Scots Commissioners had acquainted the English Commissioners that if there were not a present supply of money their army must of necessity plunder; and this was not spoken in threatening but out of a sense they had of the extreme want the army was in, they having lived long of two pence, or a penny a day - not to take it ill, if the Parliament take no course, if they fall

upon Cumberland and Westmoreland".[22] Just enough money was being sent north to avoid this, but far from enough to satisfy the Scots. "We are offended," says Baillie, "that the money decreed, and daily pressed by us, and as oft promised by them, is yet gone away but in so small a proportion. They confess that army is their own, and a most happy mean for all their desires; that the dissolving of it were their ruin; that for the keeping of it on foot and all our bygone losses, what would they not do! Yet we tell them all is but fair words".[23]

By fair words and as little money as possible, the Parliamentary leaders had to prolong the occupation of the north and the threat of closer invasion until they secured their command of the government. They hurried on the very many measures necessary, and by the end of the year had imprisoned or exiled their worst enemies among the King's ministers, condemned ship-money, monopolies and the canons, and introduced a bill for annual Parliaments. ("A terrible act!" commented the gratified Baillie; "nothing yet done in Scotland that seems to strike so much at royal prerogative.")[24] The New Year brought a reminder of the dangers said to be threatening the country, in a discussion of Strafford's army in Ireland: a convenient spur to force the Parliamentary horse over the increasingly stiff hurdles ahead - Subsidy Bills, and the imminent Sixth Demand of the Scots.

This item was causing considerable anxiety to its sponsors. After the compromise on incendiaries and the detailed agreement on

mutual restitution of ships and goods captured during the war, the vital question of "the Scottish charges since the pacification" was due to be discussed. How much would Parliament pay the Scots to retain their army where it was? That was the point at issue beneath all the fine trappings of "defensive war", "compensation" and "assistance". The courtiers were confident that it would never be settled, the Scots fretted anxiously over the precise expression of their startling demands, and the English Commissioners were anxious to shelve the whole problem, till such time, presumably, as they could safely declare it insoluble.

"Our great fear, and our enemies' equal hope," said Baillie, "was upon the Sixth: great care was used to set it down in so smooth, and yet so effective terms as was possible".[25] The initial statement was a lengthy document presented to the English Lords on January 7, and published throughout London thereafter; it compels admiration for Johnston, Rothes and Henderson, who "ripely advised on all the words and syllables".[26] A preliminary flourish drew the danger into the open and dismissed it: "Although our adversaries, who no less labour the division of the two Kingdoms than we do all seek peace, and follow after it, as our common happiness, do presume that this will be the partition wall to divide us, to make us lose all our labours taken about the former demands wherein by the help of God, by His Majesty's princely goodness and justice, and your Lordships' noble and equal

dealing, we have so fully accorded, and to keep us from providing for a firm and well-grounded Peace, by the wisdom and justice of the Parliament of England, which is our greatest desire expressed in our last demand. We are still confident, that as we shall concerning this Article represent nothing but what is true, just and honourable to both Kingdoms, so will your Lordships hearken to us, and will not suffer yourselves, by any slanders or suggestions to be drawn out of that straight and safe way wherein you have walked from the beginning". It went on to recapitulate in plaintive tone how war had been forced on the Scots in their own defence, and how on their part it was "no other but coming into England with a guard"; and to distinguish between the innocent Parliament and people of England and the "popish faction" who should in justice bear the damages. The body of this brilliant piece of special pleading reiterated that this faction had intended the ruin of both kingdoms, and that both Kingdoms were to profit by its defeat: in equity then, both kingdoms should subscribe towards the happy ending. Then follows the scrupulously polite threat, in case of denial, "Nor will it be possible for us, either to aid and assist our friends, or to resist and oppose the restless and working wickedness of our enemies ... We shall be but a burthen to ourselves, a vexation unto others, of whose strength we desire to be a considerable part, and a fit subject for our enemies to work upon for obtaining their now disappointed but never dying desires".[27] A flowery conclusion hid nothing of the

determination in this document, nor the power behind it. To the English peers' query whether the accompanying bill was "a positive demand or only an intimation of the charge thereby to induce the Kingdom of England to take your distressed estate into consideration, and to afford you some friendly assistance",[28] the Scots returned an appeal to English justice and kindness: to the suggestion that the other points of treaty should be settled while this was under discussion, a steady negative was opposed. "Sundry days thereafter were spent, Bristol pressing oft with more vehemence than we thought was needful, the casting of the Sixth Demand to the last place: but this in discreet yet peremptor expressions, we refused it at last."[29] "Discreet yet peremptor" is an admirable description of the Scots' bearing in all the dealings over this treaty, as well as of this particular reply. "It is not unknown to your Lordships what desperate desires and miserable hopes our adversaries have conceived of a breach upon this article; and we do foresee what snares to us, and difficulties to your Lordships may arise upon the postponing and laying aside of this article." After this, as might be expected, "In the end all was delivered to the Parliament".[30]

There the Sixth Demand had a stormy passage. It was introduced by Bristol in a speech tinged with bitterness. "Our ancestors were accustomed to hear propositions in another manner ... We represent unto you a very distressed estate, sad tidings and dishonourable to our Nation ... That we should suffer our country to relieve an army that is come against us, this may seem to withdraw from the greatness

and honour of our nation, ... A wise and prudent Senate, to apply themselves to some things by necessity is no dishonour". These charges must be accepted; the blame was with the "Instruments", who would be duly punished, after which the future would brighten.[31]

It could not but startle the Commons to realize that this enormous sum of money must be paid, and a long debate ensued; "divers in both Houses were not a little averse to this demand and burst out into words, in several places, of dislike";[32] one member went so far as to envisage "the remove of the Scots forces with a soft and gentle hand of moderation, pacification and conciliation if possibly it may be done with His Majesty's honour and this Kingdom's safety, if not and that they shall still refuse to part in peace, then to repel and repulse them with force and absolute spirits, with valiant and united hearts and hands,".[33] This dashing picture faded away before the more practical and popular view, "Their and our religion and laws lie both at stake together. Think of it what you will (Noble Senate) their subsistence is ours, we live or die, rise or fall together".[34]

After some time spent in argument and intrigue ("our enemies were not idle here - some hot reasoning by our sure friends - our Commissioners did strongly solicit all their friends in both Houses")[35], it was agreed to pay the Scots some compensation, and on further pressure this was fixed at the definite sum of £300,000. The Scots returned thanks and assurances of practical gratitude, among which the

sentence "We do no less desire to show our thankfulness for their friendly assistance and relief than we have been earnest in demanding of it" must have caused many a doubtful yet appreciative smile[36]: and all the outward scene was peace.

"The Commissioners of Scotland show more clearly than ever that they do not intend to separate the interests of that Kingdom from those of England, and the English Parliamentarians on their side, with the object of confirming them in this purpose, by demonstrations of confidence, do nothing without consulting them or without their consent, so it is thought that every attempt to separate them will prove vain."[37] The Venetian ambassador's observation, possimistic as usual about the royalists' prospects, was, as usual, accurate. Doubtless he had in mind some such incidents as that recounted by Clarendon as evidence that "They were exceeding vigilant to prevent the Scottish Commissioners entering into any familiarity or conversation with any who were not fast to their party": after a stroll through Westminster Hall with Clarendon, Rothes was warned by half a dozen different men that he had been talking to an enemy of Scotland.[38] Such extreme precautions argued little trust between the allies, but a great deal of determination to continue the alliance. "Our seventh article ... will be passed in a day or two; so we come to the last (article), anent a solid peace betwixt the nations; this we will make long or short, according as the necessities of our good friends in

England does require; for they are still in that fray, that if we and our army were gone, they were all undone."[39] This was written by Baillie to his wife on the 6th of February, and on the same day he stressed the same point to the Presbytery of Irvine: "The King and Bristol also did much press, that we would give in all at once we did require in our last demand; but this being not possible for us, nor conduceful for the ends of the English, who required no such haste ..."[40] the truce was again prolonged, though certain signs of restlessness were apparent.

"The ends of the English" were indeed on the very point of success or failure. The two great events of the time were the trial of Strafford and the debate on the London petition, with 15000 signatures, against Episcopacy. Everyone was wrought up to the highest pitch over these matters and the atmosphere was being further tensed by every sort of rumour of danger. The Prince of Orange, coming to marry the Princess Mary, was said to be bringing an army: the Queen was reputedly conspiring with France, the King with Spain, and the Catholic bogey was being cruelly overworked. Yet all that propaganda could do was useless without the solid backing of the Scots army to exercise a genuine threat of war upon the King. It was essential, therefore, to dispose of Strafford and the bishops, the obstacles to Parliamentary control over Charles, before the gilt finally wore off the Scots gingerbread. Constant reports came from

the north of trouble in the armies: "There was a report made to the House of Commons (on Feb 8th) that the soldiers of Yorkshire were entered into blood for want of their pay: (on the 16th) there was a debate for the relieving of the N countries, and Scots armies, who for want of means are ready toplunder the countries".[41] The debates on money to end these clashes were becoming sharper and more openly hostile, both in the treaty negotiations and in Parliament. On the 18th February the secretary of the treaty recorded "A letter of Sir Michael Ernle to the Officers of the Scots near Berwick concerning quartering his horse in Northumberland And an answer of the Scots to that shewing that Northumberland was reserved for their Army and that it is upon the passage of the Scots into Scotland and therefore desired him to forbear". Bristol here sharply interposed, "It was not intended that about Berwick the English should be debarred from helping themselves". Immediately afterwards, "Upon complaint of the North Country counties for relief and payment for things taken from them: The Scots answer they will do it fully if they may have the £50000 (the amount of Brotherly Assistance due) in answer".[42] This blunt exchange was so far from the happy relation of host to guest with which the invasion had begun that it was considered necessary to set up a special "Committee of Both Nations to treat for the affairs of the Border".

Relations becoming so strained, both sides were understandably

anxious to conclude their business. With each prolongation of the truce, the Scots wrote hopefully of returning home before the month was up; but there was no slackening of determination to achieve their ends first. "It is very apparent their (Scots') minds with the English were fully set to their (Laud and Strafford) destruction, as the only two who had the King's ear in all his affairs, both in church and policy in these troublesome times, and who expressed themselves deadly enemies to our Scots proceedings, and faithful servitors to His Majesty. But, on the other part, both English and Scots, being conglutinate together, resolved to take them both from guiding or counselling of the King, after a kind of legal way."[43] The legal gloss beloved alike of Scots and Parliamentarians was but thinly applied to Strafford's rough trial; in fact, a kind of lynch law was cheerfully anticipated by the impatient Scots. On January 29th Baillie wrote cheerfully: "It is like he shall be called, get two or three days to answer, and then be execute".[44] On February 6th he was hoping to be home "sometime in March", for "all goes according to our prayers, if we could be quit of Bishops: about them we are all in perplexity". By the 28th even Baillie was beginning to sound a little dispirited and disillusioned: "The matter will shortly come to a conclusion: all parties long to be at an end. If Strafford were once away, Canterbury will make no stay. Then things will run; but if all can be done before the fifteenth of

March, it is hard to say".[45]

The fact was that though all parties longed to be at an end, it was proving difficult to reach it. The London petition against Episcopacy had been debated in the Commons, on February 8 and 9, with great heat and temper, for the question of Episcopacy was the one ultimately insoluble by that House. Those who were for abolishing Bishops and those who were for maintaining and controlling them never succeeded in coming to terms. This first approach to the problem had to be abandoned, the question being referred to a committee, against all the wishes and soliciting of the Scots: but it was better for the Parliament to shelve the question than to be divided by it, as was to happen in the end. Emphasis switched to the preparations for Strafford's trial, with the accompanying propaganda of Irish, French and Dutch threats of invasion, so that the populace were as impatient for the trial as were the Commons and the Scots that it should be over, and with it their enforced personal contact. February 20th saw a surprising scene in the Commons, where the proposal of further subsidies and loans to pay the Scots brought on a heated argument in which some members spoke of paying off the Scots completely: this so startled Pym that he actually suggested forcing a loan from London. The irritation over the Scots' constant demands for money was becoming severe.

At the same time, and no doubt partly generated by the same

irritation, there appeared the first suspicion that the Scots might be succumbing to the blandishments of the King. Charles was trying by every means in his power to conciliate his enemies and Strafford's, to save the Earl's life. It appears by Baillie's own account that in fact, would Charles have submitted to their conditions, the Scots felt his undoubted personal charm strongly enough to be loyal courtiers to an acquiescent King. "This day Mr. Henderson had a very sweet conference with the King there alone. A pity but that sweet Prince had good company about him ... The King has spoken at length with all our Commissioners apart, very sweetly and pleasantly. Johnston and Loudon used great freedom, and were well understood. Rothes, and Loudon, and Henderson, seems to have great power: the Marquis rules all the rest, and is much commended by all."[46] It was by the Marquis of Hamilton's advice that Charles now tried to appease the Parliamentary leaders by offering them the vacant posts from which they had removed, by arrest or by flight, his main officials. Seven of the opposition peers were appointed Privy Councillors, and St. John became Solicitor-General, while far-reaching further appointments were under consideration: Bedford and Pym to have the Treasury and Exchequer, Holles to be Secretary of State, Saye to become Master of the Wards, and places to be found for the other main figures of the Providence group. This was a generous bribe indeed. "The King's great end was, by these compliances to save the life of the Earl of Strafford" ... but

"there were few of the persons before mentioned who thought their preferment would do them much good, if the earl were suffered to live", and so the great change of government never materialised.[47] In fact, the appointment of the new Privy Councillors was severely criticised and rebounded to tell against the Scots in an unexpected way. "This (appointment) for 2 or 3 days did please all the world: and to whom was England so much obliged as to the Marquis, who had brought these men so near the King, whom the country did most affect? but incontinent when some of these new Councillors were found to plead publicly for some delay to Strafford's process, and to look upon the Scottish affairs not altogether so pleasantly as they wont, all began to turn their note, that it was rash imprudence so soon to put these men in possession of the honours which some of them were thought alone to seek. Our Commissioners were deeply censured for advising the Marquis to promote these men untimeously (albeit I heard Loudon deeply swear he never knew of any such motion till it was ended) they were slandered as if they also had been to be admitted Counsellors of England and bedchamber men, I mean Rothes and Loudon... The Scots were everywhere said, for all their former zeal, to be so far broken by the King, that they were willing to pass from the pursuit of Canterbury and the Lieutenant and Episcopacy in England. The matter went on so far that the Londoners after the money was collected refused to give one penny of it for our army."[48]

This was not what the Scots had expected to result from the elevation of "our old friends, the new counsellors",[49] or from their discussions with the King, enjoyable but, except perhaps for Rothes, hardly significant. At once they hastened to regain the all-important good opinion of their English allies. An anonymous observer wrote to Edinburgh "Meantime the King and the Scots Commissioners at London were on good terms but they soon gave him cause to change his opinion for without so much as acquainting him therewith they emitted a declaration wherein they expressed their forwardness against Episcopacy in England and for the Earl of Strafford his blood and Canterbury".[50] This paper was hurried out by the Scots. "Affairs thus standing, our Commissioners presently, with some piece of passion caused Mr. Alexander (Henderson) pen that little quick paper, proclaiming, against malice, the constancy of our zeal against Episcopacy, and the 2 Incendiaries. This we gave in to the Peers requiring them with diligence to communicate it to the Parliament."[51]

This document, rushed out in a passion to preserve unity between the brother nations, misfired completely, and came nearer to wrecking unity than anything had yet done. Excellently pacific in intention, it nevertheless antagonised every separate party among the English the moment it appeared to them. That very evening of the 24th, "Bristol was much displeased with our quarrelling of

Episcopacy in England, and pressed us much to pass from this motion".[52] The Scots persisted, and Bristol took their declaration straight to the King. "Tomorrow (the 25th) the King was enraged at it, but after, by reason, he was a little calmed"[53] ... "on the morrow our Commissioners met with His Majesty who gave no sign of any discontent".[54] However, as the paper's circulation widened, the reaction became much sharper. It was immediately printed for circulation among the Commons, and one copy "fell into" the hands of a printer who hastened to reproduce it throughout the city. "The paper in print being put in hand, not by Bristol, as the word went, but by Holland, our good friend, meaning, as we know all, no evil to us."[55] Evil nevertheless resulted. "The King was so inflamed as he never was before in his time for any other business; for the keeping up of Episcopacy, in England, which we strove to have down, is the very apple of his eye. This fury for some days did in nothing relent; the printer was committed; the paper was called a hundred times seditious. The King told us we had in justice forfeited our privileges; our old enemies of the Popish and Episcopal factions set out their faces; many of whom we never doubted did join with them to malign us: divers of our true friends did think us too rash, and though they loved not the Bishops, yet, for the honour of their nation, they would keep them up rather than that we strangers should pull them down. That faction grew in a moment so strong, that in the very Lower House we were made assured by

the most intelligent of our fastest friends, they would be the greater party."[56]

This general storm of protest marked the first open revulsion of feeling against the Scots. They were still necessary to the Parliament for its protection and continuation, they could still secure popular approval in some measure, but from this time they had to contend with a growing atmosphere of hostility. They had entered England with universal English acclaim: they had come to London on the crest of a tremendous wave of popularity, and they had worked hard to retain the general favour. Yet their continual and unescapable demands for money, necessary as they were for maintaining the army which secured the Parliament, had been gradually changing the English opinion, as had their too sharp and domineering pronouncements on all contemporary problems. The hardships of the occupied north were more sympathetically admitted and considered in London when London's own pocket began to fell the effect of months of subsidising. So far, there had been only a little smoke from this smouldering, ill-defined annoyance. As reported above, a spark had been struck out by the King's interviewing the Scots and following Hamilton's advice. The paper of February 24th, meant to restore peace, acted as oil on the fire, and this general flare-up resulted. This document, with its sequel of March 1, is therefore of the highest significance in the study of Anglo-Scottish relations. The full text of both papers will

be found in the Appendix to Chapter III. That of February 24th shows the Scots still confident of their power, determined to make their allies fulfil their wishes, but conscious of some disturbing element of opposition, and therefore decisively re-asserting the common policy of the two countries. One week later the paper of March 1 is produced, denying any intention to dictate about or even take interest in the English settlement of English problems, and written in a humble, almost panicky tone strongly reminiscent of the anxiously conciliatory pamphlets issued before the invasion. The Scots no longer feel that they are securely in command of allies slow and clumsy but necessarily yielding. After a week of unexpected storm they are uneasily aware of being aliens in a potentially strong and hostile land. The shock of this was so great that they never again could wholly trust an English ally.

Baillie tells us that they had been anticipating nothing but continued success: "We were fallen half asleep in a deep security, dreaming of nothing but a present obtaining of all our desires without difficulty". Presumably the fairly frequent grumbling in the Houses about expense was accepted as mere routine. The general resentment of the paper therefore burst upon them like a "blast". "This put us all in some piece of perplexity: our army could not subsist without moneys; such a light accident had put all our enemies on their tiptoes, made sundry of our seeming friends turn their countenance, and

too many of our true friends faint for fear."[57] In every passage of this long letter Baillie conveys a vivid impression of the Scots' reactions of astonishment, indignation and fear. When "the very Lower House", their surest ally, debated furiously and only just decided against a formal condemnationof the paper, they were friendless indeed. There was no further meeting of the negotiators that week: when the sittings were resumed on March 1, the second paper, "a mollifying explanation", was immediately submitted: "the Lords met and received a paper from the Scots Commissioners in the nature of an apology for their printed paper of the 24th Feb."[58]

This effort at conciliation was not wholly successful, and yet the Scots felt that they had gone perhaps too far in making it. "Here we were put in a new pickle: the English Peers were minded to have printed our explanation; this doubtless this rash and ignorant people would have taken for a recantation of what we had printed before: so the last evils had been worse than the first."[59] However, they were to be given another opportunity of explaining themselves - yet one which they were not eager to grasp. The hint of future further attacks on Episcopacy in the last sentence of the explanation was seized by the King, who insisted on hearing all that they had to say on the subject before he would take any action. They could not well refuse; and after all it was necessary that they should do something to prevent the publication of the "mollifying explanation", which would certainly

have suggested to their allies that they were ready to desert them. Nevertheless they were chagrined to realise that, instead of a united policy shared by their English allies, they were being forced to announce their views alone, and thus were again appearing as the personification of foreign interference. "Evil will had we to say out all our mind about Episcopacy, till the English were ready to join with us: but there was no remedy: the King urged that paper."[60]

The fact was that Charles understood quite as well as Baillie and his friends that Episcopacy was "That greatest of questions". His religion was his first personal consideration, and his duty to his country's religion was his standard of action, political as well as spiritual, throughout his reign, according to the beliefs which he later expressed in clear and definite writing. "The difference between me and the rebels concerning the church is not bare matter of form or ceremony, which are alterable according to occasion, but so real, that if I should give way as is desired, here would be no church and by no human probability ever to be recovered ... it is not whether I should lay by the bishops for a time, but whether I should alter my religion or not ... The nature of Presbyterian government is to steal or force the crown from the King's head. For their chief maxim is that all Kings must submit to Christ's Kingdom, of which they are the sole governors, the King having but a single and no negative voice in their assemblies, so that yielding to the Scots in this particular, I should

both go against my conscience and ruin my crown, ... the difference in point of church government is not that which the Scots look more at, though they make it their great pretence, but it is the taking away of the church's dependence from the crown, for their chief meaning is to make it independent of my civil authority."[61]

These entirely sound views seem to echo James VI, that staunch anti-Presbyterian: and Charles' attempt to make the Scots isolate themselves in an independent open criticism of the English Church is reminiscent of James' tactics against Melville and his Reformers. James, however, had succeeded in dividing his opponents. A rift had appeared in the ranks of Charles' enemies, and he was trying to widen it: but although it never quite closed again until the final split, he was unable to bring that about as yet. The Scots were anxious to have this third paper presented to Parliament, as we shall see, but were eventually dissuaded by Bristol on the grounds that it was safer not to cause any argument till Strafford was condemned: thus the crisis passed over and events resumed their former pattern - scarcely more peaceful, perhaps, but less spectacular. Nevertheless, that week of sudden, violent antagonism had made its indelible mark on both sides.

The dominant importance of money for the armies is shown very clearly by the fact that as early as March 3, only two days after their second paper, the Scots were again raising the question. It is

recorded that in the negotiations on that day, "there being two months and some days past and they in very great necessity: they pray it may be hastened. They desire to hasten all they can to retire into their own country contrary to the false reports that they will not be gone",[62] - this last sentence a reflection of the last week's change of attitude, as on the other side is the reception of the request noted in the "Diurnal Occurrences": "This paper came in an irregular way and no notice was taken of it".[63]

This paper's protestation of eagerness to be gone was even more lightly heeded than its request for money. The renewal of the cessation was for the first time seriously challenged on March 9, on the grounds that the Scots were dangerously near becoming a permanency. One Archibald Law wrote an account of the scene to Edinburgh: "It is said there was a question in the House whether it was fit to remove the Scots presently or not. Many were for present dispatch of them alleging if they went not away before the deputy were tried and other things settled they would attribute the glory to themselves as if nothing could be done without them. We fear this to be a policy to remove them that the Parliament might be broken up and so undo all. So it was a difference in the House of Commons and it came to voting and the greater part concluded that it was not fit to remove (them) till they know their full demands so another month's cessation was agreed upon".[64]

At this time also, on March 9 and 10, the ecclesiastical petitions finally bore fruit: on the committee's report, the Commons resolved that the bishops should no longer sit in Parliament or exercise any judicial power whatever.[65] There was no word of any resolution attacking Episcopacy itself. This might have sufficiently shown the Scots that their allies were with them in religious reform only as far as would materially benefit themselves: they were willing to remove a block of royal votes from the Lords, and to abolish the ecclesiastical courts which bore heavily on landowners, but not to conform to the essential Scottish no-bishop doctrine. However, the Scots chose to regard it as "taking down the roof first to come to the walls",[66] and continued to press the abolition of Episcopacy in their negotiations, and also the publication of the paper which demanded it. This paper had taken the form of a preface to the summary of their remaining demands, which the King and both Houses had - for once - united to require: another straw in the wind, its sign not lost upon the Scots: "We were not well pleased with the manner, although exceeding well with the matter, that the Lower House should have joined with the King and the Higher House, to have required us to give in all the articles of our last demand together. We would most gladly be at an end: yet, if we were ready to go, as we cannot be in haste, they know and proclaim that they were undone; yet the instability and fearfulness, and cleaving to their money of most of them, will make us trust them less,

and see the more to our own affairs".[67]

Seeing to their own affairs, therefore, the Scots concentrated on attacking Episcopacy and demanding money: the great trial could in fact quite safely be left to the English, whereas it began to seem that these other items could not. Their long preface to their eighth demand, with its formal disclaimer of interference, its lengthy exposition of Kirk government and its violent appeal for conformity, was met with a polite stone wall. The peers answered that conformity was desirable, but alterations dangerous. "They resolve to represent it to the King. In the meantime they desire the Scots Commissioners not to divulge this paper until they have an answer: it touching the government of the State. The Scots Commissioners press that the Lords will present this paper to the Parliament. BRISTOL: It is not agreeable toAmbassage to divulge papers against the received government of the State, unless by agreement and leave. ROTHES: They are enjoined to shew this to the Parliament by their instructions."[68] Acerbity is plain even in that carefully formal report by Burroughs, and plainer in the answer finally given on March 15: "Though you may be commanded by those that sent you to make the proposition, yet for ambassadors of any sovereign prince, much less for Commissioners, His Majesty's subjects, to insist upon anything that is destructive to the Government settled and established by the laws of the Kingdom, or to accompany their propositions with discourses and arguments, in prejudice of the

settled Government, is both unuseful and unfit. Therefore His Majesty expects that according to your many professions one of which is contained in your own paper you will not intermeddle with the reformation here in England but leave the care thereof to the King and his Kingdom, as likewise that you should not publish or divulge any discourses by which the subjects of this Kingdoms shall be stirred up against the established laws of the Kingdom but that you should acquiesce with the answer".[69] But, far from acquiescing, the Scots immediately replied that they feared peace would not last without uniformity - the old technique of delicate threat - and that while they had no intention of stirring up discontent, their commission was to treat and establish peace with the King and the Parliament, so that they must present their arguments to both. The next day, March 16, saw the temporary shelving of the question, after what Baillie describes as "many passionate words ... hot contests for some days",[70] and even the official report as "Argument on both sides concerning the withdrawing of the long paper of the Scots concerning the Uniformity of Church Government 10 March not to be delivered to the Parliament ... The Scots desire to have reasons set down why it should not be presented unto the Parliament and if they cannot answer them they will be content to desist it. BRISTOL: If you will have it go to the Parliament, the King will give it with the King's reasons against it. ESSEX: The Earl of Strafford's case is on Monday to

come to trial, and it is very unfit to put in papers that may breed distractions among the two Houses". On the next day therefore the Scots announced that "Since there are great business in hand, they are content to lay aside the said paper until they shall further call for it".[71]

Unofficial negotiation with anti-episcopal clergymen was being as earnestly tried. "Anent private meetings we know here no difference we have with any: Our questions with them of the new way, we hope to get determined to our mutual satisfaction, if we were rid of bishops: and till then we have agreed to speak nothing of anything wherein we differ ... It were all the pities in the world that we and they should differ in any thing, especially in that one, which albeit very small in speculation, in practice of very huge consequence"[72] - this obstacle was the question of the powers of Presbyteries and Assemblies - fundamentally, that of Church Government, in which the two countries were irreconcilable. The anti-episcopal clergy would go one step further to meet the Scots, in doing away with Bishops, but in this would-be cheerful account of Baillie's it is already plain that the Presbytery system would not be accepted in England, short of force, even by the most Kirk-minded. If their religious sympathisers were not prepared to concede it to them, the Scots could look for complete support no where else: their political allies would attack the bishops on political and economic grounds only, and the people in general, in and

out of Parliament, were at least equally reluctant to see episcopacy rooted out of the church. "By the condition of the times", was the reluctant conclusion of one Scots observer in London, "no man can well tell what will become of episcopacy."[73]

"In the midst of other matters", as the Scots themselves put it, the problem of money was again raised: there had been no discussion of it since March 3. As well as the dramatic and important arguments about the Scots religious paper, reported above, the 16th saw the presentation of another paper on this equally and indeed more immediately vital question, worded, significantly, with quite as much insistence and stress.

"In the midst of other matters, necessity constraineth us to shew your lordships that of fourscore thousand pounds and above of the Moneys appointed for relief of the Northern countries, there is no more paid by 18000 pounds. The country people of those countries have trusted the soldiers so long as they are become weary and unable to furnish them, their cattle and victual being so far exhausted and wasted, as it is scarce able to entertain themselves; the markets are decayed because there is no money to buy their commodities, and are become so dear, that no sort of victual is sold, but at a double rate. And which is hardest of all, the Army is stinted by the Articles of Cessation to stay within the two counties, whose provisions are all spent, expecting from time to time the payment of those moneys, which were promised for their relief, and are reduced to such extremity, as they must either starve or (sore against their will) break their limited bounds, unless some speedy course be taken for their more timeous payment, that so soon as may be, the arrears may be paid; and because the continued payment of that monthly sum, for relief of the northern countries, is a burden to England, our army is a trouble to the country where they reside, our charges of entertaining our army (besides what is allowed from England) is exceeding great; and our losses and prejudice through absence and neglect of our affairs not small, Therefore that all evils and troubles of both Kingdoms may be removed, it is our earnest desire that the Parliament may be pleased

to determine the time and manner of payment of the £300,000 which they were pleased to grant towards relief of their brethren, that there may be no let about this, when matters shall be drawing towards an end. And that His Majesty and they may give orders for accelerating matters in the Treaty, that the peace being concluded, England may be eased of the burthen of two armies, and we may return to our own homes, which is our earnest desire." 74

This was only too mild a description of the desolation to which the north had been reduced and the difficulty the armies found in obtaining their scanty supplies. On March 6 the Commons had voted the diversion of an instalment of the English army's pay to the Scots, and this had driven the English soldiers almost to the point of rebellion, and certainly to that of revulsion from the Commons' cause. On the same day as the Scots reminder was handed in, the English officers in the north sent a letter to Northumberland, their General explicitly assuring him that they were willing and ready to fight the Scots. "We are very sensible that the honour of our nation was unfortunately foiled in the first part of this action," they wrote, and " we want neither courage nor will to oppose them if they advance, but rather desire to seek them out." 75 In the north, at least, the wheel had come full circle.

We are not concerned with the Army Plot except as it was related to Scottish affairs. It shows the complete change of sympathy among the English army as a result of months spent in a losing competition with the Scots for what means of subsistence could be squeezed from the wretched north. The country there was now so

plundered that it was felt some move must soon be made, and we find Sir John Conyers, a soldier only and independent of any plot, writing from York: "The Scots advance not, saving to enlarge their quarters, yet it has been said they intend to pass the Tees hitherward. Though many in this Kingdom make no question of their integrity, yet if they should pass, I have desired in my letter to His Excellency to know how we are to behave, whether to resist them as our enemies, because so many of this Kingdom esteem them friends".[76] Even this moderate question bore alarming implications for the Parliament, and the officers' letter much more so. On April 6 the Commons passed a resolution that no attack should be made on the Scots without direct orders from the King and Parliament. Quite apart from the significance of this encroachment on royal prerogative, the order is notable simply through being necessary. When the two armies had first approached each other, direct orders had hardly succeeded in forcing the English to fight: now it was a matter of anxiety whether direct orders to the contrary could hold them back. Once that English army returned home to the many districts whence it had been recruited, its change of opinion would be spread widely throughout England; no relatives or neighbours of a returned soldier, after hearing his story, would continue in the mood of "gramercy good Scot" - already fast becoming the mood of yesterday.

The Army Plot amounted to nothing very dangerous or even

substantial, and such as it was, it was very early betrayed to the Parliamentary leaders. Learning of it about the middle of Strafford's trial, they kept silence till the trial was at its most critical point; till the Lords and Commons were on the verge of a serious quarrel, and a Bill of Attainder was being urged, as it became clear that even a mock trial would fail to convict Strafford of treason. Then the Army Plot was announced and built up into the usual royal and foreign conspiracy and imminent French army, this time with the northern army in addition. This announcement made by Pym on May 5th, after weeks of preparatory hints, had its full desired effect: it threw London into tumult and panic, it rushed through the Bill of Attainder, and it produced the extraordinary "protestation" which Baillie joyfully hailed as practically an English Covenant.

In the end, therefore, the Scots benefited from the Army Plot. Their army was capable of dealing with the growing enmity of the English soldiers, while those soldiers' rumoured change of loyalty re-enforced the Parliament's need of Scottish backing - a need which Parliament's steady progress had seemed greatly to diminish. The 9th and 10th of April had seen the greatest trouble yet over renewing the cessation. On the 9th, "BRISTOL moves concerning a cessation of arms for a month if the treaty shall so long last. The Scots Commissioners move to have the arrears paid and they shall be content ... 10 April. No meeting. About 9 o'clock I received my Lord Wharton's letter who thereby willed me from the Lords to draw up a

cessation for a month and to get it signed by 10 at least of the Lords Commissioners and the Scots Commissioners, which I did accordingly, and the next day I gave in ... copies ...".[77] Burrough's dry account of himself hunting Commissioners through an April night suggests some unusual flurry, but gives no indication of the narrowly averted change in routine - the proposal to renew for a fortnight only - which the Scots regarded as an open insult. "The Commons having found that the Lords neglected, longer than ordinary, to agree with the Scots Commissioners for a further cessation, fell in fear, lest the King and Lords should keep the Scots no longer and so they were undone; therefore the House, which they had never done before, decreed to move the Lords to move a further cessation but only for a fortnight; which time did much displease us, for we thought it shew their desire also to be quickly rid of us."[78] However, one of the now frequent clashes between the two Houses occurred, and "this difference between the Houses makes both at once fain to flatter us",[79] and so another month had been secured. That month's negotiations had passed in wrangling over the reintroduction of the episcopal question, and the various articles of the Scots Commissioners' demands, which amounted to an economic union, a project dear to the poorer and repugnant to the richer kingdom, now as in the days of James VI. Even greater difficulty might therefore have been feared over the next renewal; but the Army Plot scare came just in time. On the 26th April "Mr. Holles, burgess

of Newark on Trent, declared his opinion that the Scottish army should be prosecuted with all vigour and extremity and presently expulsed the kingdom by main force by which he displeased the whole body (of the Commons) so that they presently called him to the bar. And not being able to give any good account of such his rash advice he was presently expulsed the House."[80] Next the alarm of the Commons over the Army Plot brought them to adopt the idea of a Protestation showing their unity and determination to defend various objects, principally themselves. This Protestation was proposed by the same Sir John Wray who had described the Scottish declarations, in January, as "excellent emblems of brotherly love"; his proposal now followed another Scottish "emblem", his speech had a Covenanting ring: "Let us take the right way, which is Via tuta; and that is in a word to become holy Pilgrims, not Popish, and to endeavour to be loyal Covenanters with God and the King; first binding ourselves by a Parliamentary and national oath (not a Straffordian, nor a prelatical one) to preserve our Religion entire andpure, without the least compound of superstition or idolatry; next, to defend the Defender of the Faith his royal person, Crown and dignity, and maintain our sovereign in his glory and splendour, which can never be eclipsed, if the balance of justice goes right, and his laws be duly executed".[81]

The suggestion was taken up and the Protestation drafted on these lines. There was some difficulty about the religious clause, as they

still differed about upholding bishops, but the phrase "the true Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England" was generally satisfactory, and after the Protestation itself, an explanation was issued to announce that the oath was not to protect any specific ritual or form, but the Church generally, against popish innovations.

"The Lower House was inclosed from 7 in the morning till 8 at night. After much debate, at last, blessed be the Lord, they all swore and subscribed the writ which you have here, I hope in substance our Scottish Covenant."[82] The resemblance to the Covenant was strong. The vows to uphold the Reformed Religion, to defend His Majesty's person, honour and estate, with the qualification "according to the duty of my allegiance", and followed immediately and equally by "as also the powers and privileges of Parliament, the lawful rights and liberties of the subjects", and the "band" - "and (to defend) every person that maketh the protestation, in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful pursuance of the same" - all the major points of the Scottish Covenant re-appeared in the Protestation. As it included also opposition to any "practice counsel plots conspiracies" against anything which it contained, those who signed it would be in fact voting themselves the widest licence for violent action.[83] The protestation was actually used, very shortly, as the justification for and indeed an obligation to mob violence: for after it had been signed by the members of

Parliament, it was published among the Londoners with word from the Commons that "as they did justify the taking of it themselves, so they could not but approve it in all such as should take it".[84] The Londoners took the oath accordingly amid public excitement second only to that in Edinburgh over the Scottish Covenant. Thus they were sworn to defend the Commons against any breach of their privilege; and when Charles in his despair at being forced to sign Strafford's death-warrant also signed the Bill perpetuating the Parliament, the Commons were able safely to stretch the accepted idea of privilege. "Now that (Parliament) could not be dissolved without their consent, the apprehensions whereof had always before kept them within the bounds of modesty, they called any power they pleased to assume to themselves "a branch of their privilege"; and any opposing or questioning that power "a breach of their privileges: which all men were bound to defend by their late protestation; and they were the only proper judges of their own privileges".[85]

The week following Pym's long-delayed production of the Army Plot had been a week of panic, of riot, of mobs in thousands besieging the King and the Lords, screaming for Strafford's blood. That week had brought the Lords to the Commons' heel and broken the King: the Commons were now established on a basis of mob violence, and all with exquisite legality - Scottish style. It had also, as Clarendon points out, secured the continuance of the Scottish army within the

Kingdom:[86] on the 8th of May, "Cessation moved and agreed unto and signed" with no hint of the trouble of the preceding month: in fact the only hint of reluctance this time came from the Scots themselves. "The Scots Commissioners before they agreed to sign said they had received order and letters from Newcastle that they should press hard for the payment of the Arrears before they agreed to any further cessation, and thereupon read part of a letter sent to them from thence expressing the great necessity of their Army ... Yet relying upon their Lordships' earnest mediation to the Houses of Parliament for the payment of these arrears they would sign the cessation. The Lords promised that they would deal very effectually to that purpose and assured them the Commons house was intentive already to despatch that business."[87] Further, the Scots' paper of desire of unity of religion had been presented to the Houses, in the end, and on 17 May it was voted "That they did approve of the Counsel, giving thanks for the same, and concluded there ought to be a uniformity of religion established in both Kingdoms". This committed them to no specified action, while providing an unexceptionable and conciliatory answer. In later days, it was to be used as a weapon to force them into the SolemnLeague and Covenant, but for the present it answered well.

To the Army Plot, therefore, the Scots owed a good deal of restored position: but the natural causes which we have seen working against their English alliance ever since its inception were growing

more powerful. The mere passing of time rendered the occupation more and more unwelcome, even had it had only mental hardships: but time also intensified its rigours. On May 15 "my Lord of Holland had received a letter from the North that the English and the Scots were fallen out and some men much hurt, and that there might be a speedy order taken for the disbanding of them".[89] Then too, the King had passed the Bill for the perpetuation of Parliament, which greatly heightened their sense of security and power. . . "After the act for the continuance of the Parliament, the House of Commons took much more upon them, in point of their privileges, than they had done ... Now that it could not be dissolved without their consent (the apprehension whereof had always before kept them within the bounds of modesty), they called any power they pleased to assume to themselves "a branch of their privilege"; and any opposing or questioning that power "a breach of their privileges: which all men were bound to defend by their late protestation: and they were the only proper judges of their own privileges"."[90]

Plainly, the Parliament now felt able and eager to stand on its own feet. Yet the treaty was not completed till the 10th of August. For the remaining three months, as was observed by the Venetian onlooker, "the Lower Chamber carefully protract a conclusion (of the truce) so that the troops may not have their quarters in England before all their machinations have been carried to perfection, that about the bishops in

particular , upon which the Scots are equally zealous". In other words, the growing distrust between the allies was just overborne by their mutual interest in the destruction of Episcopacy: the struggle was marked, and both impulses left traces easily discernible on the course of events.

The main setbacks encountered by the leaders of the Commons, which gave them cause to retain the Scots' services, concerned the Root and Branch Bill. This Bill for the abolition of Episcopacy was brought and backed by the Puritan extremist minority, whose control over the majority of members proved in the end insufficient to carry it through. This was the point of division in the Parliament: as members sided over it, so, in almost every case, they fought in the war which followed. No amount of pressure, scares of army or religious plots, not even the anti-episcopal Scottish influence - "many men whispered that the Scots would not retire until the Bill against Episcopacy was passed"[91] - nothing could pass the Bill before the treaty ended and the King went north.

This projected Northern journey of the King's became the Parliament's greatest fear, and most urgent motive for hastening the dismissal of the armies. Listed among the Scots' demands had always been one for more frequent visits of the King to Scotland, but in the course of exchanges between King and Commissioners the text had altered to concern one particular and immediate visit, to mark the end of

hostilities by ratifying the Act of Pacification in the Scottish Parliament, and Charles was promising to travel north as soon as possible, while the Scots were pressing him not to qualify his assent.[92] It was not at all to Parliament's advantage to have Charles travelling north where there were two discontented armies, and a Scotland no longer wholeheartedly its ally - for the Army Plot had counteracted the effect of the Scottish Protestation, and the Scots were again boldly demanding what England was bitterly unwilling to give - not only an enormous sum of money or even the abolition of Episcopacy, but a Commission to establish commercial union. Relations with the Scots were therefore not too good, and rumours of a rapprochement between Charles and the Scots Commissioners were beginning to circulate and cause considerable alarm.

The Scottish Commissioners were severely critical of Savile, on suspicion that he had been tempted to the Royal side. "My Lord Savile, one of the stoutest Lords inall England for the country and our cause at first, but since we made him a Councillor, clearly the court-way for Strafford and all the Court designs",[93] had been chosen by the King as Lieutenant of Yorkshire, but Parliament had forced Charles to cancel the appointment in favour of Essex: Savile was no longer trusted. Yet the same sort of wavering was becoming apparent among the Scots. Probably the earliest sign of a change in their attitude is the remark of Baillie quoted above (p. 122). A stronger

expression of royalist sentiment now came from the same pen, in the very week of the Army Plot scare and the execution of Strafford: "The King is now very sad and pensive: yet no man has the least intention against him: if they had, the Scots, for all their quarrels, would have their hearts' blood: but the furthest is the punishing of false knaves, who has too long abused the King and us all".[94] Now too it first appeared that Rothes had done what was suspected of Savile - Rothes, one of the pillars of the Covenant and its leading Commissioner, had been persuaded to transfer his allegiance to the King.

This was a considerable victory for Charles. With Rothes' assistance he might confidently hope to upset the Parliament's already strained relations with the Scots and form an alliance on his own account. Rothes was justly considered "a man of the highest authority in the contriving and carrying on the rebellion in Scotland, and now the principal Commissioner in England, and exceedingly courted by all the party which governed. Whether he found that he had raised a spirit that would not be so easily conjured down again, and yet would not be so entirely governed by him as it had been; or whether he desired from the beginning only to mend his own fortune, or was converted in his judgment, certain it is, that he had not long been in England, before he liked both the Kingdom and the court so well, as he was not willing to part with either. He was of a pleasant and jovial humour, without any of those constraints to which the formality of that time made that

party subject themselves to; and he played his game so dextrously, that he was well assured upon a fair composition that the Scots' army should return home well paid, and that they should be contented with the mischief they had already done, without fomenting the distempers in England. He was to marry a noble lady of a great and ample fortune and wealth, and should likewise be made a gentleman of the King's bedchamber, and a privy counsellor; and upon these advantages made his condition in this Kingdom as pleasant as he could; and in order thereunto, he resolved to preserve the King's power as high as he could in all his dominions".[95]

On June 2 the news was sent north, Baillie writing, "Show to my Lady (Rothes' daughter), and to her only, that my Lord her father is like to change all the court; that the King and Queen both begin much to affect him; and if they go on, he is like to be the greatest courtier either of Scot or English. Likely he will take a place in the Bedchamber, and be little more a Scottish man. If he please, as it seems he inclines, he may have my Lady of Devonshire, a very wise lady, with £4000 sterling a year. The wind now blows fair in his topsail: I wish it may long continue: but all things here are very changeable ... If it hold, he is like to be first with both King and Queen; but sundry thinks it is so sudden and so great a change that it cannot hold".[96]

It held, however, throughout June,[97] and at the end of the

month Rothes' constant supporter, Loudon, left London for Scotland, bearing secret messages from the King and his new adherent. A letter written by Rothes himself at the same time indicates that he was very anxious that his change of front should not alienate his friends in the North, but rather influence them to swing round after him. To Johnston of Wariston he wrote, in terms which suggest that that violent Presbyterian had a more earthly attitude to practical politics than he cared to publish:

> "Worthy Friend, My Lord Loudon is to take journey homeward upon Monday, who is to receive some particular instructions from His Majesty, and I believe he will desire you not to do that which may make his dealing ineffectual; and therefore you may keep up your worst against Traquair till you speak with his Lordship. We have had hard work with the King: Loudon will acquaint you with the particulars. If there be any mistakes of the carriage of Lord Loudon or me, or any of your friends here, you will inform the truth according to your knowledge ... As for my business, I have entrusted to you to prepare the Earl of Argyll and Balmerino; for if I defer to accept the place, times are uncertain and dispositions: if Argyll and Balmerino be pleased, then you may labour to move Lothian and Lindsay. Signify how it was the Marquis Hamilton, Earl Roxburgh and Will Murray, their motion to me from their sense of the good of the Kingdom, and that I suffered them to work in it. It is true it is nothing within the Kingdom, and so am not liable to the letter written us not to accept benefits, which can only be meant within the Kingdom; yet I desire never to be in a condition my comrades shall not approve, not to be in a better condition than they shall wish me ... Write your opinion freely to me, and if they have any exceptions at me, let me know it; for on my honour, I have not deserved evil at their hands, nor failed in any jot of my duty, to my knowledge; but this is an age of unjust censuring." 98

Doubtless Rothes had been convinced by the promise of a wife and a fortune, that it was best for him to change Parliament for King, and for his friends to follow his example. He had to expect a good deal

of remark and censure, for his conversion caused a great stir, within and beyond the country.

But Rothes died on the 21st of August, and with him the King's chance of a new and powerful Scottish party. "The King expected by his help and interest to have found such a party in Scotland as would have been more tender of his honour than they afterwards expressed themselves; and did always impute the failing thereof to the absence of that same Earl ... his death put an end to all hopes of good quarter with that nation."[99]

The arrangement, therefore, lasted just long enough to increase Parliamentary fears in England and spur on the attempts to keep the King in London at least until the armies should be disbanded. Just after the first word of Rothes' conversion came the first report of the committee investigating the Army Plot, which not only provided fresh alarms for the semi-hysterical Londoners but even caused a minor riot in the House of Commons itself. Further reports on the Army Plot were fired off at intervals, keeping the general alarm afoot and providing anxious arguments for the King's keeping away from his discontented soldiers. Great things must have been expected of the plot in the north too, from quite a different viewpoint, for it is one of the few matters which the cautious Archibald Campbell mentions in his letters as decidedly favourable - that was, to him, anti-episcopal: "The Parliament in England has gotten the full discovery of that

wicked plot intended against them wherein the Bishops of England have a hand, which is thought will be a main motive to root them out root and branch".[100]

The Root and Branch Bill, however, continued to have a very difficult passage. It is plain from the beginning of the Scottish alliance that when expediency was satisfied, fundamental disagreement would be revealed over this episcopal question. The Cheshire Petition expressed very plainly the English antipathy to the Presbyterian idea.[101] Also, the Independent school of belief was just beginning to appear, and while the Scots Presbyterians and the Independents were natural enemies, Englishmen considered the near-anarchy of the Independents' creed as a symptom of the disorders which Presbytery would encourage. Thus a mutual hatred of Independency only served to widen the opening breach between English and Scots. By the 1st of July such a letter as this was a fair expression of London opinion: "God send us well rid of them (Scots), and then we may hope to enjoy our ancient peace, both of Church and Commonwealth; for till they are gone, whatever they pretend, we find they are the only disturbers of both".[102]

A plot with a Scottish flavour, therefore, was likely to have a strong effect; at the end of June one was forthcoming. The foundation was the family rivalry between Argyll and Montrose, and Montrose's change of heart towards the King. This had come about as

he came to realise that the Covenant's intentions were more political and anti-royalist than their religious professions; in recent months he had written to Charles, and spoken of a plot of Argyll's to dethrone him. On these grounds, to be examined further in the next chapter, Montrose was imprisoned. The charge was somewhat obscurely founded on the Scottish crime of "leasing-making" - fomenting trouble between King and subjects: by the time the news reached London, it was full-blown treason for formal purposes, and for Parliamentary propaganda, a plot between Montrose and the King.

This was announced to the Commons on June 22. On the same day the King passed a Tonnage and Poundage Bill by which he gave up any claim to levy duties without a Parliamentary grant, and two days later Pym's "propositions" were presented to and accepted by the Lords. Their range was wide, if familiar: restrictions on Catholics, removal of evil counsellors, officials civil and military to be approved by Parliament: but heading the list came: "To disband the army ... and that the Scots be moved to retire across the Tees. That the King be entreated not to go into Scotland till the Army be disbanded, for these reasons: 1. The safety of his own Person. 2. The removing of jealousy that men have of the Army. 3. The necessity of public affairs".[103]

That was sufficiently plain announcement that Parliament expected the King and the Scots to join and turn upon it. "The necessity of public affairs", however, was a genuine concern of

Parliament's, for these affairs were its remaining bills to secure itself against the King. His extra-Parliamentary powers were swept away with the old "courts" which now disappeared: the Councils of the North and of Wales were followed by the judicial powers of the Council, as exercised in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission. These went at the beginning of July: a month later, just before Charles' journey, he passed Bills cancelling his privileges in regard to forests and ship money. Also, at the end of July, there was again word of a scheme for handing over the Government to Pym's party by a division of offices among them: but, as in the Strafford crisis, the rumour never became fact.[104]

Pym indeed had enough to do to hold his party together. Had it not been for the King's Scottish journey, he might have found it impossible. The Root andBranch Bill was still making no progress, thanks to the Parliamentary tactics of Hyde, but also to genuine feeling among the members: the Lords were refusing to have the Bishops removed from their House, and were embroiled with the Commons on account of the latter's Protestation, which they had seen fit to publish against the Lords' wishes. However, all parties entertained the most lively fear of the King's dealings with either Army, but particularly the Scots, especially after the Scots Commissioners flatly refused their request to persuade Charles to defer his journey. The Venetian Ambassador thought, "It is the general opinon that the

English will not permit His Majesty to go there, suspecting that the Scots, after receiving full satisfaction, may unite their interests once more with those of His Majesty, and that his presence will further dispose them to assist him to regain his original authority in England".[106] Later he described the Parliament's "most strenuous efforts to prevent the King from taking the journey to Scotland, but all in vain", and how deputations were sent to the King to ask him to defer it, and to the Scots Commissioners to "induce them to bear with patience this short postponement. The King was fully informed about these decisions and the late debates and secretly sent word of everything to the Scots Commissioners, begging them to stand fast to their original demands ... they sent back word that they would not allow themselves to be persuaded, that they would make their loyalty conspicuous and their determination to sacrifice their lives for the re-establishment of their prince in his original authority ... The Scottish Commissioners have intimated quite frankly that their country will employ all its strength to restore the King to his pristine authority; that on his appearance in Scotland all their civil differences will cease and that they will all serve their natural prince together on this momentous occasion ... Meantime Parliament is much perturbed and greatly afraid".[107] It must now be their first object to have the Scots army disbanded: so the Treaty was finally concluded, on the morning of the King's departure.

How had it progressed during these last uneasy months? The Scots, grown bolder again, had been pressing their three great points: religion, money, and commerce. They had no success in their anti-episcopal efforts, receiving only the reply that the King and Parliament approved of their desire for unity in religion, and that Parliament was considering it: nor had they much better fortune with the always thankless problem of commercial union; English sentiment had not altered on this point since James VI and I failed to carry it; it too was merely referred to a Committee for consideration. Immediate and specific compensations were a different matter, and were readily forthcoming, while the dread of English Army plots forced Parliament to buy the Scots' continued presence with the long-delayed "Brotherly Assistance". Had Parliament had to fear only one army, it could have dispensed with the other long ago: but it felt the need for the protection of each against each, right until the time when the King set off for both.

The cessation, therefore, came up for renewal again at the end of May, when we last considered the negotiations. It was answered by Rothes: "They have the desire of the counties and Commissioners at Newcastle to press for an end. Yet they should be willing to hear to renewing the cessation if all business were laid aside, and their dispatch taken to heart".[108] This was a further indirect rebuke of the Parliament's attempt in the previous week to avoid and defer a

certain proportion of the payment demanded. Parliament had suggested paying the arrears at once, the army by degrees after the peace as the money should come in, and the Brotherly Assistance, "presently"; the Scots Commissioners' answer was in the traditional vein: "Our assurance of your brotherly affection and our longing to live at home in peace after the troubles of some years past will be powerful means to move us to accept the resolution of the Parliament, there are insupportable difficulties against it ... We therefore desire that all things may be done for the speedy and total disbanding of the armies, and do entreat and expect that such a proportion of the Brotherly Assistance, may be presently paid as may be in some measure answerable to our pressing burdens ... and that for the amount security may be given ... that our common enemies may have no matter to work division". That was on May 21. After Rothes' reminder of the 26th above quoted, another offer on the 27th added two-fifths of the Brotherly Assistance to the suggested immediate payment. The 28th brought the reply, "We are constrained to desire and still to insist that the Parliament may be pleased to extend themselves beyond the proportion of £80,000" or two-fifths, to be paid at once: but this was not the answer of a formal meeting, and the next, convened on June 2, heard an unusually firm statement from Bristol: "£200000 to be paid them on the signing of the Treaty and this is all they can expect". The Scots could not in fact have expected much more: their wilder demands had been designed to

leave room for bargaining, and now (7 June) Rothes announced that "Though their necessities are exceeding great yet they accept of the offer".[109]

After that, the Scots' efforts were directed to securing the prompt advance of as much as possible, on the very reasonable grounds of having huge bills to settle with the occupied counties: these were by this time reduced almost to desperation. In Newcastle "Our coals are cheaper than the labour in working for them. Our returns for the commodity we cannot call our own, since we are daily accountable for all that we call ours ... No war is so terrible as that which devours and consumes under the visor of amity and peace".[110] As for York - "It is hard to write in how many straits this city and country are encumbered":[111] so that it was very reasonably advanced in the negotiations that "The counties will expect their money presently; and the non-payment will breed distraction in the accounts if any be left unsettled".[112] Parliament therefore discussed ways and means till on the 21st of June the final settlement was proposed and accepted.[113]

The Scots were to wait a year for half the Brotherly Assistance and another year for the rest; public faith was pledged and various responsible men named to secure the payments.

Money matters once arranged, the rest of the treaty could be wound up. The several major points still at issue were dealt with

by compromise or deferment, and on the morning of the King's departure he ratified the Treaty at last. It was agreed that the Acts of the past Scottish Parliament should be published with those to be passed in the coming session: that Edinburgh Castle and "other strengths of the Kingdom" should be fortified, while the Border fortifications should be disestablished: that no Scots should suffer for signing the Covenant, or, unless settled in England, be obliged to take any other oath: that the King would employ no one condemned by Parliament: that captures of the war should be mutually restored: that the Scots should be paid as already described: that anti-Scottish declarations should be suppressed in England, an Act of Oblivion passed, and every body's loyalty solemnly proclaimed.

On various personal matters, such as visiting Scotland, appointing to the royal service only men of true religion, and Scots among them, Charles declared that he assented to every request - and in fact had always fulfilled them in the past, which detracted considerably from the meaning of his agreement.

On the subject of "incendiaries" there was still no persuading the King to give way, in spite of the Scots' persistent demands that "whoever shall be found upon trial and examination by the estates of either of the two Parliaments to have been the authors and causes of the late troubles ... shall be liable to the censure and sentence of the said Parliaments respectively". The final answer to that article

was no more definite than "Concerning that point (His Majesty) can make no other declaration, than that he is just, and that all his courts of justice are free and open unto all men; his Parliament in this Kingdom now sitting, and the current Parliament in Scotland near approaching the time of their meeting. To either of which he doth not prohibit any of the subjects to present their just grievances or complaints of any nature; each meddling and judging against the persons subject unto their own authority". As Charles considered his immediate servants exempt from Parliamentary jurisdiction, this was obviously no agreement at all: but both parties were willing to accept the postponement of the issue.

Similarly, the religious question received no more than the vague and gracious promise already given, which was now repeated: "To their desires concerning unity in religion and uniformity in Church Government: as a special means of conserving peace betwixt the two Kingdoms ... It is answered ... that His Majesty with advice of both Houses of Parliament doth approve of the assertion of his subjects of Scotland in their desire of having conformity of Church government, betwixt the two nations. And as the Parliament hath already taken into consideration the reformation of Church government, so they will proceed therein in due time, as shall best conduce to the glory of God, and peace of the Church of both Kingdoms".

So much for religious union: of economic union nothing was said

at all. The matter of copper coin was referred to the Scottish Parliament, and the other ten demands on economic affairs, eagerly as the Scots had pressed them, were all firmly referred to the appointed committee - there was obviously every intention of discarding them at the first safe moment. In one place the English were unable to return a plain reference to the Committee, but in declining to pass the demand, felt bound to add a definite reproof. The Scots had requested "that where the English have any out trade or dealing in any foreign places, that it may be free to Scottishmen to out trade and deal in the same places, without any impediment to be made to them by the English and Irish". The English really cannot be blamed for pointing out in reply that "The English have by their oppressive costs and charges, and the loss and hazard of many men's lives, found out divers plantations and trades, for which they have the Great Seal of England, and their estates and fortunes being thus engaged, it were not reasonable that others should come in freely into those plantations and trades to reap the benefits of their expenses and labours". The article was referred to the Commissioners for trade with the rest; but we take special notice of this short but heartfelt outburst, as expressing very well the English attitude to economic union, that they had no intention of sharing their hard-earned riches with a country too poor to make any return. It was a very natural state of mind: but the Scots had an equally natural desire for the partnership, and till

they could agree on it, no political alliance would be securely based at all.

The politicians secured in the treaty the establishment of a Commission, composed of men of both nations, to preserve and defend the peace in the intervals between Parliaments, thus assuring a continuance of contact between the leading men on either side: but their association so far had caused no one but the immediate party leaders to wish for its protraction. Certainly the English had gained their political ends from it, but at a heavy present cost, and with the prospect of future interference with relition. The Scots too had gained the political victory they wanted, in the acknowledgement of the Acts of 1640: but they had had great difficulty in obtaining even what their allies had promised them, they began to doubt those allies' intentions, and to consider whether they might more profitably concentrate on the King. Their return home was a relief to them: the army was starving, and the London Commissioners had never felt entirely safe since the week of their two declarations. To the English, the Scots' withdrawal was inexpressibly grateful: it was welcomed even more strongly than their arrival had been, a year before. During that year, in the first long spell of close acquaintance, the peak of friendship had been reached and passed. At the end of the last chapter, we noticed that the northern, occupied counties almost immediately changed their Scot-welcoming views: at the end of this

chapter, we find them poorer, barer, almost destitute after a year of subjection, fervently voicing those changed views of experience with the support of the rest of the country now behind them. "No war is so terrible as that which devours and consumes under the visor of amity and peace" was now the very general opinion, although the writer of news from Newcastle justly added, "What our losses have been by subjection to so many hourly thraldoms, the rest of the land may conceive, we only feel". He and the writer from York both proclaimed the lesson always learnt by those who advocate surrender or welcome invasion. "Power and compulsion for the most part effects more peace than either treaty or reward" ... "Let us once quit these disorders, we resolve hereafter ... to be safest in the defence of our own strength."[114]

England would again call in the Scots, and again both countries would have cause to regret it. But to the English the Solemn League and Covenant was never a welcome prospect. By 1643 there was no question of considering the people's opinion; but even the miserably unrepresentative Long Parliament was inclined to prefer defeat by the King to rescue by another Scottish alliance; Pym's personal army, the London mob, had to raise its greatest riot to force the alliance through. This winter of 1641 had been the Scots' one chance of securing the genuine, lasting friendship and support of their neighbours: they would never again find themselves welcomed into England. They had

been hailed as liberators. Time had shown that, apart from the most immediate matters, their deepest interests were not compatible with those of the English, and they left the country they had occupied with the name of tyrants. "For my part," wrote Sir Thomas Wiseman - a sadder and a wiser man, like many others - "all that I shall say of them is, they have carried away our money, and left us a disjointed and distempered Kingdom; and whether the remedy they have given it be not worse than the disease they found it in, I am yet to be satisfied."[115]

CHAPTER IV

August 1641 - November 1641

In the previous chapter we saw the English Parliamentary leaders, set on breaking the power of the King, make their attempt to secure Scottish help towards their ends. By using the idea of religious interests common to the two countries, they did secure a Scottish army and by its presence succeeded in drastically curbing royal power. However, when negotiations began in detail, it became clear that community of religious interest extended no further than a mutual terror of Popery; that there was no intrinsic unity between Anglicans and Presbyterians, or even between Scottish and English Presbyterians. As this disillusionment set in, the traditional economic hostility revived, sharpened by the exactions of the Scots army of occupation; and thus the period of general English approval of a Scottish alliance ended, with the Parliamentary party, the Scots' chief allies, having gained much but not yet all that they had hoped from it.

Reaction from English brotherhood, from affectionate co-operation with Parliament, inclined the Scots towards the King. Scotland was always inclined to personal, as distinct from constitutional, regard for its King: its Commissioners in London had been developing considerable personal regard for Charles, while

sickening of the Parliamentary men and methods: then, too, the Crown was the source of preferment, which the Parliamentarians were working to cut off. Charles himself obstinately cherished the belief in Scottish loyalty which he contracted from the enthusiastic welcome at his Coronation visit, and never shook off; so when the Scots Commissioners, at their interviews with him throughout the winter, showed him more deference than the English and seemed impressed by his arguments, he drew the same kind of false impression from appearances, and hoped that his bid for Scottish support would have lasting success. The bribing of Rothes might fairly be taken as a sign of the kind of success he would have. It was quite true that the Scots were concerned to preserve him as King of England, with a free hand to give preferment there; but they had learned from their stay in England that Royal favours could be compelled. This chapter, therefore, examines the Royal attempt to win lasting Scottish support which followed the Parliamentary attempt, and finds the Scots giving Charles' visit quite an opposite turn, and moulding him into not a leader, but a compulsorily generous figurehead.

Throughout the struggle in England between King and Parliament, the country always suffered when either party appealed to the Scots, and such an appeal never gave satisfactory results to its makers. Parliament had certainly profited largely by the Scottish army's stay, having extended its power and lessened the King's, but it had in the

end incurred great damage, if only in the growing antagonism roused all over England by the occupation, and the very real alarm of the Scots' changing sides at the last. Charles, in his turn, now tried the Scottish loyalty; he gained no positive point at all in Scotland, was forced to concede every demand made there, found the smooth surface of welcome indicative of no willingness to make actual sacrifice for him. He returned to England with only "some assurance that he should have no more trouble from thence ... for which he had given them all they could desire, and indeed all and more than he had to give".[1] That was too high a price for being left to deal as best he could with his enemies in the south, unmolested but unsupported by his northern subjects. He made over all his material powers to them and gained only that assurance. Yet when against expectation he was nearing success in the war in England, that assurance was broken and the Scots destroyed him in the end.

Nothing of this disastrous conclusion showed in the first scenes of his northern visit. Both armies greeted him loyally, and the Scottish headquarters and Newcastle staged a festive welcome for him. Charles was delighted with the demonstrations of loyalty, but made no attempt to turn them against his enemies, and proceeded peaceably north. Among the several honours he bestowed in passing, however, he did not include a barony for the English Lord General, the Earl of Holland, who resented the omission bitterly enough to move during the

ensuing weeks quite over to the King's opponents, and more immediately to make considerable trouble for him by a letter sent south.

In this letter, addressed to Essex and communicated to Parliament, Holland dropped various dark hints about sudden danger from the King's dealings with the English army, and these, coming to a London only waiting in fear for some such news, aroused a genuine fresh wave of panic. Clarendon says that the letter actually expressed some of the evidence about the old Army Plot, but "so mysterious, that it was no hard matter to persuade men it related to somewhat they had never yet heard; and being dated on the 16 of August, which must be the time that the King was there, or newly gone, seemed to reflect on somewhat His Majesty should have attempted. Hereupon their old fears are awakened, and new ones are infused into the people".[2] It is instructive to notice how complete was the conviction that the Scots were now actively anti-Parliamentarian, shown in the widespread credence given to Holland's report. The Secretary Nicholas writing to Arundel of the "very great jealousies" caused by it, made the stringent criticism, "If there were any cause of danger his lordship did not well to write so obscurely and brief, if there be no danger at all (as I believe) then his lordship hath said too much".[3] Nicholas was a loyal King's man and was distressed by the impulse the letter gave to the Parliament's unconstitutional actions. "A letter of Lord Holland's ... hath increased the jealousy, and put both Houses into a distemper;

but we hope there is no cause; yet the Parliament begin to bethink themselves how to provide for the worst". (Smith to Penington)[4]
It was left for the Venetian Ambassador to connect the letter's general impulse to action with the most drastic innovation yet made by the Parliament, now put through. "Holland's letters express the scant confidence he feels, in the affection of the people of the north for the Parliament, and he urges them to prevent by prudent counsels those evils which he believes to be threatening this kingdom. These letters have stirred fresh suspicions in the hearts of the Parliamentarians, in those of the Lower Chamber in particular. They have recently held frequent consultations into the best means of preventing any move by the Scots, and also of keeping in check the people of England, so that they may not support the King if, with these forces at his back, he should decide to throw off the yoke to which the new laws have subjected him, and to take vengeance on their authors. With this end in view they proposed to send deputies to the Parliament of Scotland with instructions to prevent any prejudicial decision, and to observe carefully the proceedings of the King". This was judged to be altogether too sweeping an assumption of authority - "the Lord Keeper protested boldly that the authority of the Parliament did not extend to the sending of persons with public commissions to foreign princes or Parliaments without the express permission of the King" - and in the end it was

determined to send four commissioners to Scotland "To go to the King and ask his leave to take part and treat with the Parliament of Scotland, in the capacity of ministers of this Parliament, as the Scots did here".[5] That last was a significant phrase: it was indeed to be "as the Scots did here": "some think there is more matter in the sending of them", wrote Nicholas:[6] "in truth, to be a spy upon (the King)" wrote Clarendon, "and to give the same assistance to the Parliament there, upon any emergent occasion, as the Scottish Commissioners had done here".[7] Among the instructions for the Commissioners, drawn up by Parliament, we find "You shall be careful to clear the proceedings of the Parliament of England towards the Scots, if you shall find any false reports or imputations cast upon their proceedings by persons ill affected to both Kingdoms: You shall upon all fit occasions assure the Parliament of Scotland of the good affections of His Majesty's subjects of the Parliament of England: You shall be careful to satisfy the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament from time to time of all your proceedings therein and of all occurrences which shall concern the good of this Kingdom".[8] Giustinian reports how the sense of these orders was generally interpreted: "To assure them by lavish expressions of the perfect friendliness of the English: to come to a thorough understanding with the Scots; to dismiss from the minds of that people every suspicious thought and everything contrary to this declaration; to report

everything that takes place ...".[9] Clearly the Parliamentary leaders meant that the King's proceedings should be closely watched, and their former good relations with the Scots restored as far as possible, to counter his influence. The difficulty of finding an authority competent to despatch such a commission, other than the King, was overcome by an adaptation of the "ordinance" - originally a decree of the King's, made without Parliament, now transformed by the Long Parliament into a valid form for a Parliamentary decree made without the King. The significance of this departure was plain to the experienced observer: "The most remarkable point about these instructions is the tone of absolute command which they use on this occasion, clearly showing that this Parliament considers itself a despotic master, in no wise dependent upon their natural prince".[10] The entire usurpation of sovereign power was later carried out under this legal fiction of "ordinances", the first of which now sent north Fiennes, Hampden, Armyn, Stapleton and Lord Howard. No group led by Hampden and Fiennes would be content merely to hold a watching brief; nor would they be sent away for that purpose, at a time when all the influential men of their party were needed, either to manage the shrinking Commons or to tour the country. The Commons House was rapidly emptying under the threat of the Plague, and now was the time for the few who remained to push through their extremer plans. In the country, Parliament was again following the example of the Scots - this time, of the leading

Covenanters in their travelling campaign to whip up signatures for the Covenant. "Many members of Parliament of the highest reputation have been sent through the counties of the realm to propagate among the people ideas favourable to the Parliament but inimical to the King's service and to the intentions of the Scots as well."[11] This was work particularly suited to the fiery Fiennes, and to the Parliament's hero Hampden, whose influence was even greater than his wealth. They could have done much at home, but evidently it was considered that there was even more to be done in Scotland. Certainly they were travelling to a situation where they had every chance of action.

The feud between Argyll and Montrose had taken no check from their temporary alliance in the Covenant. On principle as well as personal interest - for he was one of the few genuinely principled men of his time - Montrose steadily resented and tried to nullify Argyll's assumption of dictatorship. The Cumbernauld Band of August 1640 was his defensive agreement with other noblemen of the opinion that the oligarchy of the Covenant leaders was a danger to the country. Later, he came to believe that after all the King, not the Covenanters, was the most likely to accord Scotland the freedom from tyranny which was his constant desire. He therefore wrote to the King assuring him of his loyalty, in the autumn of 1640; and was threatened with punishment for it by the Covenanting leaders who themselves shouted their loyalty in every declaration. It could not go beyond a threat: when the

Cumbernauld Band was revealed and its signatories summoned before the Committee for Estate, they too escaped, or rather, temporarily avoided punishment. That was in the winter of 1640-41, when their regiments were still necessary in the Scottish army. But in May, 1641, the Argyll-Montrose feud was carried a stage further. Montrose received information from several men of speeches made by Argyll about deposing the King and usurping his power, and sent, or caused to be sent, a report to Charles. Its nature has never been clearly established. Montrose and his friends maintained that they had sent to Charles "only to speed his coming to Scotland" with "some other discourses, as, that it was best His Majesty should keep up the offices vacant till he had settled the affairs here".[12] Their messenger was captured on his way back by the Committee's men, and found to be carrying a brief and formal letter from Charles promising good government, which incriminated no one, and also a jumble of notes in code, which made it easy for those who chose to believe that communication had gone much further. Baillie considered it a prime motive for the King's journey, "W. Stewart's informations, giving probable assurances for convincing of Hamilton and Argyll of capital crimes, if the countenance of a present King might favour the accusers."[13] The Argyll party were glad to consider it in the most serious light, and to imprison Montrose and his chief friends accordingly, on charges of plotting against the peace between country and King: while the chief informer against Argyll was induced to

confess that he had lied, then forthwith executed for "leasing-making".

Thus Charles, and after him the Parliamentary deputation, was coming into no settled country. His chief supporter was in prison and in danger - Charles would have to rescue Montrose before anything against Argyll could be attempted. Rothes was dying in England - the King had bought his influence, but was not to have the use of it, and there was no other influence wide and deep enough to compose the different storms now blowing in the Edinburgh teacup. In fact, Scotland was at its old habit of internal feud. Family feud, as that between Argyll and Montrose, mingled with class warfare. Argyll, as we saw at the time of the Covenant, had studied the composition of the English Parliament, and was training the class of minor gentry and burghers, his backing in the Scottish Parliament, to help him overthrow the power of the great nobles. Parliamentary representation was a specially tough bone of contention, and the present Parliament had spent many stormy hours in arranging its "ordering". Something of the rivalry between Parliament and General Assembly showed itself too: "Mr. Archibald Johnston required that some of the Ministers ... might have place for hearing ... That motion was rejected by Argyll with storm, as making way for ministers' voices in Parliament".[14] The Assembly was in no pacific mood, having had constitutional troubles of its own, and also being gravely concerned about the persistence of "canticles"and other private religious meetings. While the Covenant

was outlawed and unofficial, such services were very well; but now the Covenant was the law, and gatherings of small religious groups threatened it with the growth of the hated Independency. The Assembly therefore did its utmost to secure "abstinence from all such meetings as had in former times been very profitable, but now were unexpedient, unlawful and schismatical"[15], and seemed to find a message of sympathy from their similarly afflicted English brethren irritating in the extreme. Its temper was not sweetened by a rebuff received from the Parliament when "it was decided to offer to the Parliament the labours of any they thought meet in the Assembly, to help to remove what difference was betwixt the members of Parliament ... the impertinence whereof the Parliament miskent, and passed without an answer".[16] The Parliament preferred to conduct its own quarrels rather than set up the rival authority to arbitrate.

Edinburgh was full of the discontents of all Scotland, and none of the various parties looked forward to Charles' coming for the sake of serving him or the country - except possibly Montrose, the one man who was helpless to do so. Every faction was concentrating rather on what could be got from the King - "The King, the fountain of their honour, should come and decide the question".[17]

Great expectations, however, made them eager for his coming, so that he was welcomed with a show of the warmest greetings. His enthusiastic reception reminded him of that of 1633 and confirmed his

high hopes and spirits at being among his "native" Scots: yet, from the first, whenever any practical point arose he was forced to give way. He was welcomed by the Speaker of the Edinburgh Parliament in these words: "I know you cannot choose but think that we have showed ourselves resolute, because we have presumed so far as to take up arms, but I hope you will also suppose, that we are as loyal as the best. God knows our thoughts, as we hope he will reward us accordingly, if bad we desire his just punishment, if good, we entreat Your Majesty to take notice of it".[18] At first hearing, that would seem simply a loyal declaration: but on consideration it reveals itself as a remarkably blunt statement of the principles on which the Scots had already attacked the King. There is the claim that complete loyalty is compatible with armed rebellion, and the exact definition of His Majesty's future powers as King of Scots: if they erred, it was for God, not the King, to punish them; but Charles was expected to "take notice of" their virtues; and in fact, the Crown was to be reshaped and retained as "fountain of honour", and giver of preferments only. The two months which elapsed before the Incident were devoted to establishing this new order, which gave rise to the conflicting reports in the South of the King's situation. The first day in Parliament demonstrated that position. In the morning Charles appeared and "spoke very graciously" and was "answered with cordial harangues of welcome". Yet "it was agreed on, at Argyll's motion, that when any

matter of debate did occur, two of every state should be appointed to acquaint His Majesty",[19] and the first of innumerable complaints was made through this providently supplied means, that very afternoon. Thus affairs continued. Public relations were excellent: in practical business, Charles gave all and got nothing.

The Scots who came with him were obliged to take the Covenant before they were admitted to the Parliament: Montrose remained untried in prison; Parliament began to claim a voice in appointments of state. All that Charles secured was the keeping on foot of some thousand troops, manifold assurances of loyalty and service, and a splendid banquet from the City. At first it was enough to raise his optimism to great heights, but as the dispute about State officials continued, he began to lose heart. "The general report is that the King is exceeding gracious with the Parliament at Edinburgh and the Parliament with him":[20] the public graciousness satisfied the attention of Admiralty officials Wiseman and Penington for the time, on August 26th. But on the 24th the secretary Nicholas wrote to Northumberland with a closer knowledge: "If my advertisement from Scotland be true, I may in confidence tell your Lordship that the King is there likely to get nothing but an end and that such an one as the Scots please who have been the guides there all this while".[21] The manuscript is a draft of the final letter, and Nicholas apparently had second thoughts and scored this sentence through "for omission": an interesting fact

which in no way detracts from the reliability of his information. Other thoughtful observers were also doubtful whether any gold would be found among all the glitter. "(His Majesty's speech) gave great satisfaction: but what will be the issue of all is yet hard to judge, it being early days". Similarly, "The King ... gives an account ... not without hope of an excellent and advantageous end ... the Queen shows herself perfectly reassured ... But those who judge of the intentions of the Scots more deliberately are not altogether satisfied in their minds. They believe the declaration about assisting His Majesty to be insincere, and suspect that it covers other secret designs which have not yet appeared; or else that if the King wishes to put the matter to the proof he will encounter such great difficulties as to destroy the fruit of his first hopes ... Reports circulate here that the Scots and the common people especially display the greatest attachment to the King, while on his side he leaves nothing undone to cultivate this popularity ... His Majesty reports to the Queen that the Parliament is progressing and seems likely to serve him well ... Private letters confirm all this, but they add that the Scots, not content with all that the King has granted them, ask that he shall not in future distribute the offices of that crown to any individual before the Kingdom has supplied His Majesty with information about the abilities and merits of the persons to whom he proposes to give them. This demand is certainly an indication that even in the midst of all

these official signs of affection they do not lose hold of the intention of encroaching more and more upon the royal authority".[22]

"Official signs of affection" outside the Parliament were many, but inside, the "encroachment" pressed on. The Commissioners from the English Parliament arrived, and found the King resolute in declining to confirm their commission: but they could console themselves by settling down - "the Parliament hath taken up for them one of the best houses in the city"[23] - to watch the Scots employing lessons learned in England. I quote from Argyll's first major speech, the plainest announcement of his determination to follow the English model.

> " It is notorious that the late Incendiaries that occasioned the great differences betwixt His Majesty and his subjects took much advantage and courage by the too long intermission of the happy constitution of Parliaments, in the vacancy of which they by false information incensed His Majesty against his loyal subjects and by their wily insinuations extracted from His Highness Proclamations for to yield obedience to their innovations in the Kirk, and Patents for Projects, whereby the poor subject was both polled and oppressed in his estate, and enthralled in his conscience: and thus by their wicked practices, His Majesty was distasted and his subjects generally discontented, in so much, that had not the great mercy of God prevented them, they had made an obstruction between His Majesty and his liege people, and had broken those mutual and indissoluble bonds of protection and allegiance, whereby, I hope, his Royal Majesty and his loyal and dutiful subjects of all his three Kingdoms, will be ever bound together ... no sooner was that happy constitution (the Parliament in England) raised, and thereby those vapourous clouds dissipated, but His Majesty's goodness, his good subjects' loyalty, and their truth, evidently appeared.
>
> Our brethren of England (my Lords) finding the intermission of Parliaments to be prejudicial and dangerous to the state, have taken care, and made provision for the frequent holding of

> "them: whose prudent example my motion is may be our pattern forthwith to obtain His Majesty's Royal assent, for doing the like here in this Kingdom. By which means His Majesty may in due time hear and redress the grievances of his subjects and his subjects (as need shall require) cheerfully aid and assist His Majesty, And nor only the domestic peace and quiet of each Kingdom be preserved, but likewise all National differences (if any happen) may be by the wisdom of the Assemblies of both Kingdoms, from time to time composed and reconciled ..." [24]

The English Parliament had first declared that it should frequently be summoned, then brought in the Triennial Bill which assured a Parliament every three years, and finally secured its own perpetuation. Argyll's speech made the same first declaration in terms at least equally suggestive of others to follow.

Charles had duly begun redressing grievances: his servants had taken the Covenant - and we may notice here an interesting remark made by an Englishman on this subject: "Lennox and Hamilton have sworn to the Covenant, which they say is no more in effect than the Protestation lately set forth by our Parliament".[25] That Protestation had been hailed on its first appearance as the equivalent of an English "Covenant": now it was to lend its dignity to the Covenant in turn. Also, Charles had ratified the peace and all the Acts of the previous Parliament, according to the Treaty. That done, which was nominally his reason for visiting Edinburgh, his return south began to be expected. "August 28th - It is thought a month will be the longest".[26] "September 5th - The King hastens his preparation for departure to England, which, as it is expected, will be very suddenly".[27]

"September 1 - We hope about the middle of September to see the King in England".[28] But the question of officers of state, at first mentioned casually as one last problem to be settled, proved to be serious enough to occupy whole weeks. The English Parliament had worked hard to deprive the King of the right to appoint his servants: by attacking the greatest of them and proving it could pull him down, and by forcing the King to retract separate appointments as soon as they were made. The Scots had imprisoned a Montrose for a Strafford, though Montrose was so far only an unofficial, potential right arm to the crown: they now proceeded to challenge the King's right in general and to cancel his choices in particular. "The tough dispute between the King and Parliament was about the election of Officers of State, of the Council and of the Session ... We alleged it was our law, and old custom, to have all these elected by the advice of Parliament; that the election of these by the King alone had been the fountain of our evils, and was like to be a constant sort of corruption, both in Kirk and State, if not seen to. His Majesty took the nomination of these to be a special point of his prerogative, a great sinew of his government, the long possession of Kings in Scotland, the unquestionable right of Kings in England."[29] By reference to past rule, Charles undoubtedly had the right of the argument, the Scottish Parliament having formerly counted for even less than the pre-Tudor English Parliament: but now it had the might, and thus, "Much dispute in

private and public was for this great matter ... Upon these jars whole months were misspent."[30]

Almost daily accounts of this vital struggle were sent to the Secretary Nicholas, whose papers, in the Egerton collection, preserve them, mostly written by Thomas Webb. On September 5, "This last week we have stuck all upon one business, concerning the officers, which hath not yet a dispatch, tomorrow it is expected that it will be absolutely concluded ... There is something more in this business than I can understand". This letter also suggested that the soldiery still on foot and the many armed men in Edinburgh were all that prevented "a strange turn in this Kingdom, for here are many that have heavy burthens upon them who dare not groan until they see a King with more power to ease them, yet the Earl of Perth said to some of the greatest of them, If this be what you call liberty, God send me the old slavery again ... my Lord Rothes regiment were so bold to disband themselves, one such other example will turn the scales, and already makes some of the great ones come in to the King".[31] But this was written by a Royalist and his hopes misled him. It was true that the non-Argyll factions, now in subjection to him, would welcome release at the King's hands: but thereafter they would follow the Scottish custom of keeping the monarch a virtual prisoner, a pawn for their own use, just as Argyll was doing. Hence the daily turmoil in Edinburgh, which so impressed Webb that he wrote on September 7, "This is the day here of

our public thanksgiving and feasting for the peace, which I pray God may hold beyond my understanding".[32] The same day another letter was addressed to Nicholas, by Endymion Porter, Groom of the Bedchamber: "We have no certainty of our return, for His Majesty's businesses run in the wonted channels, subtle designs of gaining the popular opinion and weak executions for the upholding of monarchy; the King is yet persuaded to hold out, but within two or three days must yield to all, for here are legislators that know how to handle him, for they have his bosom friend sure, and play their game as he directs them that sees both".[33] I take this to be a reference to Hamilton, who came north with Charles, and, on finding Argyll in control of Parliament and the Campbell retainers in control of Edinburgh, was hastily ingratiating himself anew with Charles' enemies - so openly that it came to be remarked by everyone, even by Charles at last; by Porter among the first. Porter followed that letter with one of even deeper gloom, but intelligent observation: "Since my last unto you there is nothing of news but one and the same delay to bring the King to be weary of staying here and so to yield to all they desire (which he is very apt to do) and so to streighten him, as he must leave all such as have appeared contrary to the humours of the covenanters, to be judged by them; which may cost some of them dear; and they that scape best, will repent that ever they showed themselves for the King, for the public applause opposes monarchy, and I fear this island before

long will be a theatre of distractions".[34] We gather that the 11th was a specially discouraging day for the King's men, Webb writing of it, "We stick where we were for officers ... our Commissioners seem to weary here and desire the King to hasten his return, who I think is as weary of them as his staying; I have as good a mind to be at home as anybody, but believe if the King come away before all his business be done, he is undone".[35]

On the 13th, Roxburgh wrote "we expect now within a few days to draw near an end of our business here",[36] and Vane, whose word on so general a matter we need not question, "this I hope will be determined this week, His Majesty being content for the future to admit of none but with advice of Parliament, but this people are very stiff and seem to be resolute not to recede".[37] Vane was right on both counts. On the 16th the King accepted an Act which obliged him to choose his ministers according the advice of the Parliament. This was more than the English Parliament had so far succeeded in forcing into their statute book: "a remarkable diminution of his despotic authority", commented Giustinian, "while it also deprives him of the most fruitful means of keeping his subjects obedient to himself ... the English acclaim this important decision, being persuaded that this event will suffice to enable them to obtain soon the same advantage, and so sedition, instead of being punished, will be rewarded in the two Kingdoms".[38] Yet the Scots were not satisfied: they were indeed

"very stiff and resolute", and after this general ruling went on to enforce their will regarding particular offices. The King nominated Morton as Chancellor, but was forced to agree to the general desire that Loudon should have the place: he then nominated Morton as Treasurer, and here the bitterest fight began, for Argyll intended to become Treasurer himself. So determined was he that he opposed and attacked first Morton, his father-in-law, the man who had brought him up, and then the second royal choice, Almond, although "Argyll had been before always to that man a most special friend".[39] It seemed that this was the crisis of Charles' fortune: he had the chance of positively defying Argyll in the reasonable hope of rallying the other factions in the city and the country. The soldiers newly disbanded had grievances about their pay, and the nobles outside the Campbell clique were jealous of Argyll's aggrandisement,[40] while the hordes of retainers on both sides crowded Edinburgh. In this traditionally Scottish atmosphere of emotion working up to violence, Hamilton laboured nervously to regain Argyll's favour; the English Commissioners watched closely and, though apparently nervous too, yet found business to occupy them; Charles' supporters urged him, with the language of desperation driven beyond respect, once to stand firm; Charles himself veered and varied, constant only to his vow not to desert Montrose. That did not help him in the passionate and stormy sessions of Parliament which ensued. Thomas Webb's letters of

this time, quoted in full in the Appendix to Chapter IV, give the most complete contemporary picture which survives of the angry intrigues and wild swings of fortune in the succeeding days. Webb and his fellow-Royalists had some hope at first of the King's standing firm, but were soon disappointed, so bitterly that he "could not find it in his heart" to send the news south. With this right of appointment, hope of peaceful settlement was also abandoned, and Webb, convinced that "all will not end in fair words", began to pray "God keep us safe that are here".[41]

The time for fair words had almost gone by. When the dilemma over the Treasury remained unresolved, the threat of violence present in crowded Edinburgh came to the forefront. So far the armed retainers in the town had been the equivalent of the Scottish army in the north, during the English negotiations: known to be ready in the background. Now, though the others were apparently hesitating, the thousands of Argyll men became rather the counterpart of the London mob who by open, present physical threat had compelled Strafford's death and the perpetuation of the Long Parliament. First came the affair of Kerr and Hamilton, then the Incident itself.

Hamilton had arrived in Edinburgh as the King's most trusted and beloved counsellor, and retained the King's confidence, while he was working to gain Argyll's, for a surprisingly long time. It had become obvious to all the King's entourage that he was again "trimming",

while Charles himself still relied on him unquestioningly. The irritation aroused among those who saw this was expressed in a "travel poem" of the fashionable type, written by an attendant of Lord Willoughby, the only English nobleman who accompanied Charles to Scotland. This was how "P.J.", his friend and servant, saw the situation at Court:

> "You see
> How well the King and this Lord do agree.
> His Majesty thinks nothing rightly done
> That's not directed by his Hamilton
> A tender conscienced man that seeks the health
> And welfare also of the commonwealth.
> How happy are those Princes that rely
> On such a favourite as can supply
> All the defects of busy government
> Yet when he sees the giddy people bent
> To ruin both prerogative and crown
> He lends his helping hand to pull all down.
> And seeks out a deceitful way to put
> Truth in opinion only, and to shut
> Reason quite out, as if he were resolved
> To leave the world in miseries involved
> He sets the voices of the tumult high
> Bids them for laws and liberties to cry ...
> But Kings that in their government want skill
> And cannot well distinguish good from ill
> Surrender up their eyes and ears to those
> That flatter and betray them in the close." [42]

Hamilton was apparently at his old game of repeating the King's counsels to the Covenant, thus certainly earning their favour and probably convincing himself that he could so interpret King and Covenanters to each other as to reconcile them. He invariably meant first to be safe, then to do good and be loyal. But all that appeared was the intention of being safe, for he had not the brain or nerve to do

good: thus he lost the appearance of loyalty. "The King never seeing, or at least mistrusting, Hamilton's loyalty, who had approved himself a traitor to his King and gracious master, and that with great policy and greater secrecy, who ever acquainted our covenanters whatever His Majesty spake, or writ, or devised against them, whereby they were put on their guard before the King could act any purpose; and, as was plainly spoken, he did what he could to fortify the covenanters against his loyal master the King, who had made up his lost estate, and given him so many favours as his heart could crave, or His Majesty could give ..."[43] One hot-headed youngster, Roxburgh's son Lord Kerr, finally burst out openly against Hamilton's double-dealing, sending him a challenge as "a traitor that had juggled with the King these two or three years" ... "These passages coming to the notice of the King and Parliament, they were so sensible of the unworthiness of those carriages, that they ordered the Lord Kerr to make his submission".[44] The affair in fact took a course very favourable to Hamilton: it was represented in Parliament as a drunken slander, and while magnanimously "supplicating the King on his knee" for Kerr, and "excusing Crawford (bearer of the challenge) as if he could do no less than deliver his comrade's message",[45] the injured Marquis was able to secure a public announcement of his innocence. It was a stroke of great fortune for him that when at last the King had begun to suspect that he "was very active in his own preservation", he had

an opportunity of using the credit he had gained in Parliament. "Withal the wise man did make use of the injury, and humbly required His Majesty's and the Parliament's declaration of their judgment in the matter itself. By this means he obtains, by way of Act of Parliament, both from the King and from the State unanimously, a declaration of his most loyal and faithful service to that day; and my Lord Kerr is commanded to crave him pardon."[46] Afterwards, Hamilton was described as "the politician that was challenged to meet in the field that he might be declared victor in Parliament",[47] by Sir Peter Wroth, one of the most intelligent observers of the day. Wroth had the gift of seeing the actual result of things, free of any deceiving accompaniment, and he certainly saw it here: what had happened was that Hamilton had been publicly victorious. Whether Kerr - a Covenanter, after all - or Murray, in whose rooms the accusation was made, acted as "agent provocateur" does not seem to have been considered, yet it appears a possibility, in the light of a similar doubt about "The Incident" which immediately followed.

The Incident remains a mystery. It is even less comprehensible than the Guthrie Conspiracy, and even more thickly tangled with conflicting evidence. Among the many contradictory depositions it is impossible to tell which are the false. What actually happened was that Argyll, Hamilton and his brother Lanark, in spite of having 5000 supporters, suddenly fled from Edinburgh, professing to be

in fear of their lives: and that some sort of plot against them was announced and investigation begun amid unparalleled confusion. It appeared that on October 11 Montrose had sent Charles a letter offering to show that there was treason among his counsellors: that Charles had decided to discuss the letter with some of the Lords: that Almond, Crawford and Ogilvie had been conferring with William Murray, and through him with several military officers, about kidnapping Hamilton and Argyll: that no two of them had the same idea of the means or ends of their scheme: that it was revealed to Leslie and by him to Hamilton and Argyll: that that evening Hamilton had spoken to Charles "in an obscure way" of being slandered and having enemies: that the next day, October 12, Charles went to the Parliament followed by a large number of anti-Campbell clansmen; that there he found that Hamilton, Lanark and Argyll had fled to the country house Kinneil, leaving word with Parliament that their lives were in danger and they fled to avoid pitched battle in the streets. There are no other facts definitely established. Investigations began at once, and many detailed statements were recorded,[48] but as they all clashed and contradicted, nothing of the true actions and motives behind it all has ever become plain.

Looking for the actual consequences, we find that the Incident wrecked what remained of Charles' prestige and hopes of satisfactory settlements. It was generally represented that he had at least

connived at the kidnapping of the Lords in the hope of obtaining proof that the English Parliamentarians had had treasonable correspondence with them before the invasion of 1640. This rumour spread almost as promptly as the news of the Incident itself, which was instantly hailed and retailed as a disturbance of the utmost severity. In Edinburgh a kind of Parliamentary martial law was proclaimed, public business came to a standstill, while in spite of Charles' frantic efforts to clear himself by securing a public enquiry, a secret committee was appointed to examine the affair. "This plot hath put not only ours, but all other business to a stand, and may be an occasion of many and great troubles in this Kingdom";[49] such was the necessarily formal public report of the English Parliamentary committee to Pym. "I pray God make it not a great distraction for the humours are up ... I do much apprehend what will be the issues of these distractions and beseech God it have not an influence in England and Ireland."[50] This (wrongly attributed to Leicester by the CSPD) was written from Holyrood by the elder Vane, who was torn between the King's orders not to inform the English Council of anything and his own desire and the Council's demands for full reports - "Secretarys have hard games to play at this time".[51] But although "it was not His Majesty's pleasure that I should write anything"[52], Charles could not hope to conceal this from England any more than he had been able to hush up the first troubles over the

Covenant. The Parliamentary Committee saw to that. "An express courier has brought word to the arms of Parliament that His Majesty suspecting the loyalty of the Marquis Hamilton and his brother ... and at the same time keeping unappeased his anger against General Leslie, the Earl of Argyll and baron Lanark for their part in the late movements, had resolved to free himself from an equivocal situation and to pay the debt of revenge by their death." The report goes on to a version of the details definitely unfavourable to Charles, showing that the express messenger rushed off by the Committee carried other letters besides the formal announcement printed as its letter: but as Giustinian adds, "this account may be coloured by prejudice".[53] It was acted upon immediately and in a way strongly reminiscent of the Army Plot and other propaganda scares: the English Parliament discussed nothing else, "for the avoiding the like attempts here",[54] as Hampden's Committee had added to its "dark and perplexed account" ... some vague insinuations as if the design might look further than Scotland ... all that party (Pym's) taking pains to persuade others that it could not but be a design to assassinate more men than those lords in Edinburgh".[55] Pym himself moved that "all means ought to be used to secure the Parliament from danger for that they had just cause to fear this plot begun in Scotland would not end there but reach to them also",[56] and followed it up by proposing special committees for the examination of traitors and the safety of the

country. London too was placed in a state of siege, and the ordinary business of Parliament suspended, while theletters from Edinburgh, real and apocryphal, were published and spread the most alarming rumours possible: "It appears now that the aim was not at particular persons, but at the cause, which must needs have been sorely shaken, if so great pillars had been pulled away":[57] the King's name was openly mentioned in this pamphlet. "The Commissioners of Parliament", sums up Giustinian, "anxious to establish their credit with the people and to render the name of their prince more hateful to them, do not hesitate to take advantage of the opportunity, and announce that carried away by thoughts of securing for himself an absolute royalty, the King not only laid these snares against the life of those persons who had courageously resisted his designs, in their zeal for the welfare of the community, but that he is meditating fresh attempts in this Kingdom also to the prejudice of liberty and of the most active Parliamentarians ... if things go on as they seem likely to do they threaten the utter destruction of His Majesty and all the royal house".[58]

All this was a faithful copy of the usual propaganda measures taken when some awkward point hung in the balance of the Long Parliament: this time it was the Bishops' Exclusion, which had remained an unsolved problem during the month's recess just over. This "Incident" scare was so conveniently timed for the anti-Royalists in both Kingdoms that

the Royalists were justified in suspecting its origin. "The Court makes a different statement and tries to have it believed that the King has no share in these transactions. That they are false and contrived by Hamilton and the others for the purpose of discrediting His Majesty and for the perfecting of those ambitious ends on which they have fixed their aim ... Unprejudiced persons now lay the blame on Hamilton, for having artfully and designedly led the King to offend and then to take arms against the Scots."[59]

This was the general feeling among royalists, as recorded by Burnet the eulogist of Hamilton: "Those on whom the design was fastened gave out it was a forgery to make them odious".[60] The amateur poet of the "Scottish Journey" already quoted gave his opinion very bluntly:

> "That Highlander whose conscience and whose eyes
> Play handy-dandy with deceit and lies
> Hath by extempore prayers raised on one side
> A traitrous tumult to support his pride
> And Hamilton and he are joined and gone
> To hatch a daring mischief to unthrone
> Our gracious King." [61]

It was natural for a loyal servant in the King's own train to push the theory to its furthest limits, and it is certainly worth considering whether the whole Incident was not, as Charles declared, a manoeuvre to discredit him. Proof is impossible; we do not know enough. But we know that Hampden was in Edinburgh, in high favour with the Scots, and that his party in the Long Parliament had often

employed just such tactics with success. We also know that when Charles suspected treachery, he set about arresting the suspects suddenly but openly and by formal process: thus he later did with the Five Members, and thus, it seems obvious, he would have done - on October 12, possibly - with Argyll and Hamilton. He was too sure of his supreme right and too devoted to the letter of law to plot about kidnapping and holding to ransom: and his desperate urgency in pleading for a public enquiry should prove that he knew himself innocent.

However, we need not assume with "P.J.", author of the "Scottish Journey", that Charles' actual crown was aimed at. As we have seen, it suited the Scots well that he should retain his nominal position, and what they secured by the Incident was a further accession of the power which might have been the King's. Hamilton honestly believed that he could work wonders for Charles as his chief adviser, and wrote many protestations of loyalty from Kinneil,[62] unhindered by Argyll, who saw that every day they remained in exile heightened his already predominant influence. "His Majesty is over-voted in Parliament and all those adhere to the three lords that are absent."[63] When eventually they returned to Edinburgh in semi-triumphal state, it was plain that the reign of "King Campbell" had begun in earnest. Argyll based his power on the same class of support which upheld Hampden and Pym, and he had copied their tactics

to achieve the end they desired - usurpation of sovereign power - even more successfully that they had yet done. Remembering this, and considering whether Hampden had any guiding hand in the course of the "Incident" which achieved so much, we note with interest that as soon as it was over, he left his fellow-Commissioners to carry on their duties and returned with all speed to London. There was certainly great need of him there, and we cannot suppose that he took the long journey north for the mere routine purposes of communication which, once the anti-royalists were in full command, detained him not a moment. No definite judgment of "The Incident" is possible, only a tentative deduction from the actual results, and on these grounds one of the most reasonable suppositions is that Hampden went north to help organise some such coup d'etat, and did so.

He left the King in humiliating helplessness, waiting upon the verdict of the enquiry into the Incident - conducted in secret in spite of Charles' "very peremptory" demand for an open hearing. He had "menaced to raise or leave the Parliament in confusion, if they would not yield to his demand of a public trial. But herein he had a hard enough encounter ... a very strong declaration was drawn up ... which so moved His Majesty and his council that ... they yielded to the trial of a private committee".[64] There was now no way of bearing down Argyll and his fellow "victims" of the Incident, for, as Baillie cheerfully remarked, "Sure their late danger was the means to increase

their favour with the Parliament; so whatever ruling they had before it was then multiplied". He went on to notice that "The Marquis did not much meddle; but the leading men of the Barons and Boroughs did daily consult with Argyll".[65]

Such had been the effect of the Incident. Again Hamilton's love of intrigue and incapability of clear thinking had led him into a situation which he had not expected. The testimony that he "did not much meddle" indicates that he was bewildered to find how much he was considered to have damaged the King: probably the truest comment on his part in the flight is a phrase in one of his own letters from Kinneil - "the effects thereof have been so far contrary to my intention".[66] However, Hamilton could always find a new plan to offer hopeful promise, and soon he appeared again in Parliament as an advocate, this time of Charles' return to England.

It was the desire of all the King's well-wishers, even before the Irish rebellion was announced. Sir Peter Wroth was urgent for it, having some time ago taken the realistic view that the King could do no good and should cut his losses:

> "Hereupon I fell into an admiration why you want your Northern journey, or why you dispute so long upon this point of officers, and forget to see an end of the process of the Earl of Montrose, etc.; or why you come not away, and do them the good as to let them fall by their own innocency or guilt; for pardon me for saying the world begins to conceive your interposition is a great part of their offence, or at least an aggravation. Then since you do yourselves or friends so little good, come away; ... in a word, if you resolve to bide by nothing, you shall overcome as little ... This may give you notice of Mr. Pym's, by

> "virtue of his being of the committee, confirming that order (of the House of Commons about church innovations), and the printed paper concluding with John Pym; you know what letter was truly wanting - R. If thus one House, and then a Committee (act), consider if your Scottish businesses stay the King, what ordinances of the Parliament in the beginning of next session may be made, and then you know what a labour it is to disentangle." And again: "Let not Scotland be your country to dispute; she is like a man-of-war which hath no merchandise but knocks; and truly you had better grant them all quietly, then save somwhat and lose your seasonable being with us". [67]

After the Incident there was no longer any question that all must be granted. "I hope the Parliament of England will interpose and hasten it (the King's return), " wrote Vane, "for they are not here supple but very stiff and resolved in their ways".[68] There were even some suspicions that the King was almost a prisoner, as Crawford boldly declared when his turn came in the succession of speeches of justification made in Parliament: "It is requisite that the return of the King be no longer delayed. Let not England be deceived any longer of its diurnal expectation, lest danger be heaped on your heads, for why it is already suspected, that you keep him here for no loyal intents".[69]

News of the Irish Rebellion made the situation worse. At last a Catholic rising had materialised, and the heavy slaughter was much exaggerated to make a wildly gruesome story. Charles was instantly anxious to get back to England, to arrange for prompt counter-measures - not yet realising that he would be considered guilty of abetting the rebels. Hamilton made a long speech in the

Parliament urging the King to return south for the preservation of religion from the two dangers of papistry and heresy. Embedded in this speech we may note the suggestive piece of news that "I have received letters divers times from that strong pillar of religion, Mr. Pym, and many other pious men from England", the declared contents of which were apparently messages of respect to Charles and such desire for his return that "I speak it not in my own behalf, but in the general and universal name of the whole Kingdom of England ... that Your Sacred Majesty would return".[70]

Charles and the Scots agreed on the one point that the rebellion must be suppressed as quickly as possible. To that end they "hasted allaffairs" - all the other points of difference on which the Incident had made it necessary for Charles to give way. "A committee was appointed which in two or three nights did agree all things privately with the King, most according to Argyll's mind".[71] Even over the position of Treasurer Charles was obliged to yield, though under pretence of a compromise - no official appointment was made. "Since it could not be gotten to Argyll, it was agreed to keep it vacant till the King might be gotten drawn; and in the mean time, after the English fashion, to serve it by a commission of five, two of Hamilton's friends, the Chancellor, and Argyll himself, with the Treasurer-Deputy".[72] In effect the office was made over to Argyll. Similarly, power of government in Charles' absence was given to a Parliamentary Commission,

whose nominal appointment was to regulate the Peace Treaty with England. Finally Charles attempted to leave at least goodwill behind him by scattering honours with lavish hand. "The King made all the haste he could, and strove to give contentment to all. Many more pensions given than ever will be paid. Sundry Earls and Lords, but a world of Knights, were created."[73] Leslie became an Earl, Hamilton a Duke, Argyll a Marquis, while on the other hand amnesties were given to all those arrested on suspicion of the Incident, and even Montrose and his friends were freed, though without trial. The only definite finding of the "Incident" enquiry was that there was no proof that Charles had been involved: a poor compliment to the King. Yet it was all he gained from his Scottish visit - leave to depart in outward peace. In exchange he had given up all but nominal rule in Scotland.

Thus once again an appeal to the Scots had proved harmful to all involved. Charles had lost his power with them and had allowed his English enemies time for unchallenged action, which they had used, with the excuse of his absence, for their first definite usurpation of executive power, the issue of the ordinance sending Commissioners after him. He had gained only the hope that the Scots might rest satisfied with all he had given. Nor had the Scots the absolute advantage, for their gains, and even Charles' long stay with them, definitely sharpened English suspicions and jealousies of them.

As for the English Parliamentarians, they had not had to face the attacking Scottish army which they had feared Charles would bring back, and in his absence they had been able to try what they pleased. Yet it had not advanced them far. Charles' peaceable absence had caused a reaction in his favour among many of the people whom Parliamentary propaganda had induced to consider him the cause of war and expense. He had disproved their allegations that he intended to bring the Scots down on them, and, returning still in peace, received a welcome which alarmed his opponents. It remained to be seen whether it meant any more than his welcome to Edinburgh. He had been greeted there even more enthusiastically than were the invading Scots in 1640; and he had had less profit from the visit than theirs had yielded them.

Both the King and the Parliament had now made their attempts to secure Scottish help to their side, and both had had an initial period of co-operation followed by general disillusionment and falling out. The lesson was not yet learned. Now came a period of manoeuvring when each side strove to secure a fresh Scottish alliance against the other - the last time when the Scots would hold the balance and therefore the superiority.

CHAPTER V

November 1641 - September 1643

Anglo-Scottish relations, at the time of Charles' return from Edinburgh, were indeterminate. The English Parliamentarians were relieved of their fear that he would return at the head of a Scottish army, but the fear of such an army remained very strong. After the indignity, hardship and suffering of the long occupation, that fear moved England as a whole more than any other, even equally with the Catholic bogey, and even the Parliament, and even the extreme anti-royalist party in it, was strongly suspicious of and averse to any band of Scots in arms.* At the same time, the struggle between Pym's party and the King was yet to be decided, and though doubts might be felt whether the last Scottish Parliamentary alliance had been wholly advantageous, Parliament could not afford to leave the Scots neutral, for fear of what Charles might yet attempt among them.

This indecision was inconveniently made plain by the Irish Rebellion. The Scots were still determined to see Presbyterianism established in England, and helping to suppress the rebellion was not open to the same interpretation of interference as was their anxiety for the suppression of Bishops. It was only natural for Protestant Scotland, with so many Scottish settlers in Ireland, to

* See page 245.

join Protestant England in putting down a Catholic rebellion there. Accordingly, as soon as the rebellion was reported, the Scots hastened to offer the English Parliament the services of those soldiers not yet disbanded from the occupation army. But the Parliament, still smarting in memory from that occupation, could not resolve on accepting them. The retention of these very troops had been causing concern during the King's stay in Edinburgh. The Committee in Scotland had been trying to get them disbanded, and had written urgently, direct to Pym, to say that the Scots were determined to keep them afoot till all the English garrisons left the north - the Earl of Holland had circulated another of his sinister letters to the same effect, with the rider that the Scots seemed to take it ill that the garrisons remained so long. The Committee's letter propounded "as in our former letters, that some speedy order be taken for the discharging of all ... that we may be enabled to give satisfaction therein, and that we may have ground to press the Scots likewise for the disbanding of theirs upon the same day".[1] Those who were outside the negotiations grumbled continually that "I marvel what colour the Scots will find to keep a body of 4000 men and 400 horse still together" - the numbers varied with each report, but the dissatisfaction was general.[2] Now came the offer of these troops for Ireland, far from welcome, and debated long.

The Scots, all eagerness to come to grips with Catholicism,

waited impatiently. On November 3, "The Scots have put themselves into a readiness to help us whenever we shall require it of them", and "The Scots are in a readiness but will do nothing till they hear from the Parliament in England".[3] As early as November 6, Parliament's acceptance of the offer was looked for in Edinburgh. "We are in hourly expectancy to hear what good resolution Parliament has taken touching Ireland":[4] but no such speedy action was taken. The rebellion was forcing Parliament to make decisions on many controversial points, bringing to a head the whole dispute over sovereignty: the necessity of sending an army forced them to consider who should lead it, and that became involved with political and religious questions. The Scots had shown that Charles could be made to accept Parliamentary dictation of appointments: Pym now moved that Charles should agree to appoint his English ministers also by Parliamentary choice, and that otherwise Parliament should consider itself free to appoint army commanders on its own authority. This motion, which actually passed the Commons, though not the Lords, was a blunter and more open defiance than the Scots had used, and seemed to aim at overtaking them on the road to the royalty of Parliament. Pym's best hope of being able to command an army was the Scottish force, for the Parliamentary leaders in both countries - Argyll, Hampden, Pym - still felt the need to co-operate: Pym therefore favoured sending the Scottish army. There was also the religious

question to be considered. The Bishops were still sitting in the Lords, and, as from the start, the episcopalian question rallied more opposition to Pym than any other. That opposition was strengthened now by alarm at the rapid increase in sectarianism, particularly in and around London, generally noted and deplored at this time. ("Secretaries and Separatists, whereof in London and the parts contiguous be more than many.")[5] Men who felt strongly against Independency, Brownism and the rest, classed Presbyterianism as an equally harmful creed, and blamed its influence as the origin of all. Such were the men who opposed sending the Scots - "some wise men are of opinion it is neither policy nor honour for us to employ so many Scots in subduing that rebellion".[6] The Scots had appointed "a Committee of Estates to attend the Parliament of England ... to keep correspondence in so needful a time"[7]: they had an anxious wait while the debates dragged on, and speaker after speaker mentioned the topic only to shy away from it. "The business we have now in agitation concerning ... the treaty with the Scottish Commissioners for their timely assistance and aid ... is of great consequence and weight ... I have not heard of greater ... Yet notwithstanding ... if we remove not our impediments at home ... all our endeavours will little prevail".[8] Again "I desire to speak somewhat concerning our request to the Scots Commissioners ... We have had much hindrance which I intend to remember you of".[9] Both

speakers went on to deal with Bishops, papists and petitions, not Scottish aid at all. The real hindrance was explained by Giustinian, "The more prudent ... do not altogether approve of the plan of gathering so large a force of Scots in Ireland ... suspecting the Scots of cherishing ambitious designs to take advantage of this emergency to become masters of that island".[10] The terms which the Scots demanded for the arrangement seemed to confirm that idea,[11] and when the Scottish army finally came into action, there was as much enmity between them and the English forces as either showed the rebels.

London during its three months of the King's presence was even more tumultuous than Edinburgh had been. It too was troubled with throngs of disbanded soldiers - "the city is full of the disbanded soldiers, and such robbing in and about it that we are not safe in our own houses";[12] and in place of the clansmen were the city apprentices, who formed a huge clan of their own, as rowdy, dangerous and bold of demand as any wild Highlanders, as thoroughly at Pym's command as were the Campbells at Argyll's. Rumours of plots again abounded, several smaller conspiracies being announced to give fresh colour and credibility to the vast Catholic plot which was said to be at the root of the Irish rebellion and every other trouble. Petitions and counter-petitions came thick and fast,[13] while the Grand Remonstrance was debated.

This was a re-statement of every grievance real and imaginary

since Charles began to reign, accompanied by a reiteration of the proposal that he should abandon the bishops and resign the appointment of officials to Parliament. It had been in vain that Charles hastened to warn his Council on his return "That the power he parted with in Scotland will be no precedent for others to expect the like elsewhere, because of his absence" - that because he lived in England, the Scots needed a certain amount of self-government.[14] The English Parliamentarians were determined to have all the power which the Scots had been given; the rebellion only sharpened the demands inevitable on the King's return. The Remonstrance was voted in the Commons but not in the Lords, and the same fate met an Impressment Bill which would transfer the King's right of levying militia to a General appointed by Parliament. The Lords' stubbornness was attributed to the Bishops, and such tumults and riots arose that twice in December Charles issued proclamations that the city authorities should suppress them,[15] as he had had to do in Edinburgh just before the Incident. The apprentices' petition against Papist conspirators, Jesuits, and bishops, was the boldest of all in demanding the Bishops' removal from Parliament, and was backed by a demonstration lasting three days. The army of apprentices had been roused by John Venn, a future regicide, who told them, "You must go to Westminster with your swords, for that party which is best for the commonwealth is like to be outvoted", whereupon "the factious citizens begin to come again to the House with

their swords by their sides, hundreds in companies".[16] The more moderate members of Parliament found this very disturbing, and began openly to resent "the greatest stop in our proceedings, the riotous and tumultuous assembly of vain and idle persons, who presume to begirt our House ... and with an open clamour would prescribe us what laws to enact and what not; and what persons to prosecute, and who not".[17]

But the Commons leaders would allow nothing to be done to discourage the riots: "God forbid," said Pym, "that the House of Commons should proceed in any way to dishearten the people to obtain their just desires in such a way".[18] Once again the mob was Pym's army. The two great street battles, over the Lieutenancy of the Tower and the Bishops' Exclusion, resulted favourably for him: a new Lieutenant was chosen, and the Bishops, protesting that they were forcibly kept from what was no longer a true Parliament, were imprisoned for treason. England was making progress towards the Scottish achievements, although as yet in particular instances only. The Scots had secured the power of Parliament to choose officials, and of the Assembly to govern religion: the English had overruled Charles on the Lieutenancy of the Tower, and had removed the Bishops from Parliament. They had now to try to establish their superiority in principle also.

The whole course of events from the King's return to his departure from London in January, 1642, followed parallel to the

outline of events during his Scottish visit. In London, as in Edinburgh, he was welcomed with an initial fervour that raised his hopes and alarmed his enemies: they then came to grips on single points, and later on general issues: his opponents were able to create an atmosphere of suspicion and alarm against him by systematic plot-propaganda, and to raise the threat of wild armed crowds: gradually he was forced to give way; and a sudden, confused attempt upon the opposition leaders brought about his defeat.

The essential resemblance between "The Incident" and "The Affair of the Five Members" is particularly striking. These two affairs were the final blows which destroyed the King's hope of winning the cities to his side. They differed in several ways, according to the circumstances which conditioned them. Both, however, were represented as illegal action by the King in the attempt to dispose of his enemies, and in that light had overwhelming popular effect. The Incident was the more complicated and is still the more confused, but among the improbable tangle of suggested kidnapping and murder, we find that the King, having heard a vague tale of treachery, went to the Parliament with a large escort, to discover that his opponents had taken spectacular flight: we find that they remained in shelter for some days while popular feeling mounted: we find that they returned in triumph with almost the whole city as armed escort, and that the King was branded with the odium of tyrannical attempts on their lives: thereafter we find that he had no choice but to submit

to the dictation of these popular heroes. Now these were also the fundamental facts of the "five Members" affair - with the one difference that Charles escaped from London after it. He was goaded by the defiance of the leading Parliamentarians, and by advisers who later showed themselves false, to attempt the arrest of five Commons leaders, being escorted to Parliament by a large number of retainers for the purpose. Treachery in the Palace warned the five, who fled and loudly claimed protection from the City, and were presently brought back in triumph by the City under arms. Exactly as the Incident had done, this English version of it rallied the capital to the side of the supposedly threatened Parliament and raised those members personally involved to the status of popular idols, while "the attempt and not the deed" again confounded Charles.

He withdrew just in time to avoid the mass march of triumph which brought the five members back, and also to avoid the virtual imprisonment which had followed the Incident and might be expected again. He moved to Hampton, then to Windsor, to Newmarket, finally to the north, Yorkshire and Lancashire, while months went by in exchanges of declarations, petitions and propositions between Parliament and King. The details of these prolific but pointless negotiations do not concern us, nor do those of the first phase of the Civil War which followed, except as Scotland influenced or was influenced by them - as, we shall find, the thought of Scotland was never far from

either side, and constant appeals and references to the Scots were made, till the third and fatal direct contact with them was formed in 1643.

Official references and appeals to the Scots naturally made use of the best butter; yet it is instructive to see how the note of jealousy recurred irrepressibly from time to time. It was exactly as Thomas Webb had foretold: loyal King's man though he was, his immediate reaction to Charles' concessions in Scotland had been "I think it most just that a nation from whom a King enjoys all those benefits which ours affords him should receive from him at least as much as another place which yields him nothing but trouble".[19] It must be remembered that friendly feeling towards Scotland among the English people did not survive the occupation of the north. The Parliamentary leaders continued to seek Scotland's support, and they employed powers which became dictatorial to suppress the general discontent and even dismay which the idea roused. The only permissible expression of the anti-Scottish sentiment was in such jealous assertions as that quoted above that England deserved concessions equal and more to whatever had been granted to Scotland. That one manifestation of renewed dislike could be made to serve the purposes of Pym's group, in pressing the King to yield: the motif became apparent in the course of debate, so that Giustinian spoke of the project "To request the King to grant to England the same advantages which he recently conceded to the Scots",[20] and Clarendon judged that

even "some who in their hearts abhorred what the Scots had done, yet disdaining to be overwitted by them, and that they should get more for themselves, and receive a greater argument of the King's trust, than we of this nation, out of pure malice to them, resolved to do the same things with them; and so joined and concurred in any exorbitances".[21] The same argument was actually employed to the King: "We desire but the same satisfaction which Scotland had, without so much substance, given them by the King. For their militia, and all the subordinate power in that Kingdom, is settled in such hands as are publicly confided in, and yet this is utterly denied us"[22] - and more to the same effect (see page 219).

Thus England felt ill will to Scotland over the very point of the political struggle which Scottish help was to be invoked to win: and similarly over religion. After the domineering attempts to dictate religious reform of the Scottish Commissioners in the treaty period, Englishmen were more than ever reluctant to allow Scots any say in church concerns, however they might wish to alter the system. "They may be deceived in one chief aim, as is shrewdly guessed ... for altering our church government to that of Scotland, which notwithstanding will never be accomplished by the general consent of Parliament".[23] This was perfectly true; Pym had the greatest difficulty in bringing even the terrorised remnant of the Long Parliament to agree to buy another Scottish alliance with religious concession, and even that

impermanent alliance took eighteen months to negotiate. It was no real sign of Anglo-Scottish regard that Pym's 'prentices howled through London,

"Alas for the Bishops, their calling must down,
Valiants of Scotland have plucked off their crown."[24]

Nor was the Commissioners' exhortation to Presbyterianism, published in January, as welcome as it was voted to be, when "The House of Commons ... doth resolve that the Scots have herein done that which is not only very acceptable to his House, but likewise that which is of great advantage to both nations ... and doth further desire them that according to their affections already expressed they will continue their care and endeavours".[25] The King's reaction was truer to the general feeling, when he wrote that the Scots, who had complained of English interference with their religion, should be the last to practise interference.

It was judged necessary, however, by the Parliamentary leaders, carefully to court Scottish opinion: even the most angry memories of occupation served to bring to mind the power of Scottish arms. The many Parliamentary pamphlets listing grievances and dangers all contrived to mention the Scottish war as one of the crimes of the evil counsellors and Popish conspirators who were officially blamed for everything. "That the war with Scotland was procured to make way for this intent (the altering of religion) and chiefly incited and fomented by the Papists and others popishly affected": this article

took the high place of second on the long list of "fears and jealousies".[26] Charles in his turn countered with a reproving answer designed to appeal to the Scots when they should read it - "As for the Scots troubles, we had well thought that those unhappy differences had been wrapt up in perpetual silence by the Act of Oblivion which being solemnly passed in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, stops our mouth from any other reply than to show our great dislike for reviving the memory thereof".[27]

As Clarendon remarks, "The affections and inclinations of Scotland, either side sufficiently understood, would be of moment, and extraordinary importance in the growing contention", and therefore "His Majesty had from time to time given his council of that Kingdom full relations of all his differences with the Parliament, and had carefully sent them the declarations, and public passages of both sides; and they had always returned very ample expressions of their affections and duty", while "the Parliament on the other hand assured themselves that that nation was entirely theirs, having their Commissioners residing with them at London, and the chief managers and governors ... having firm correspondence with the marquis of Argyll, the earl of Loudon, and that party ... who ... returned as fair and respective answers to all their messages, and upon their declarations, which were constantly sent to them, as they did to the King".[28]

In the early months of the year, then, Scotland returned fair, non-committal words to both sides. In April and May definite indications were given that the Scotland of Argyll and the Assembly would still in the last analysis be found on the Parliamentary side. Charles announced that he meant to go in person to Ireland - and to go by way of Edinburgh: Parliament was instantly alarmed - it was the situation of August 1641, all over again: but this time the Scots were far from anxious to have the King among them, obvious as it was that a summons to support him against the Parliament would follow. The declaration which they produced in answer to the news of his intention has been summarized as follows:

> "They have in frequent meetings considered of the many declarations, messages, answers, and instructions they have received from the King, and also of a declaration sent them from the English Parliament. They are thankful for His Majesty's expression of his resolution to preserve the true religion, liberties, and laws of his kingdoms, together with a right correspondency between them. They reciprocate the zeal of the Parliament of England to maintain a right understanding betwixt the two nations. But they are full of apprehension at the long-lasting distractions between the King and Parliament, and scarcely dare to think upon the results of its continuance. They hope the breach between them may soon be cemented. They trust that the Parliament will leave no fair means untried to induce the King to conform to them that there may be a better understanding betwixt him and his people. They know that they neither will nor should meddle with the public actions of another Kingdom further than called upon as being fellow subjects under one head and monarch; yet since the Parliament had thought meet to draw the practice of the Scotch Parliament into example in the point of declaration, they are confident that the affection of the Parliament will lead them also to the practice of the kingdom in composing the unhappy differences betwixt his majesty and them, and, so far as may consist with their religion, liberties, and laws, in giving his

> "Majesty all satisfaction, especially in their tender care of his royal person and princely greatness. On the other hand, their desire is that the King will hearken to the earnest desires and hearty invitations of his people in conforming to his Parliament, which as it is his great so it is his best and most impartial Council, that so, by the brightness of his countenance, jealousies and fears may be scattered and a mutual confidence revived. As regards his Majesty's going for Ireland, they conceive it to be a matter which requires very mature deliberation whether the great affairs and dangerous distractions of England, which never more required his presence than now, may suffer by his absence; whether his going in person against such base rebels be not a descending too low from his royal eminence. And concerning this they hope that his Majesty will consider the advice and counsel of his Parliament. Finally they entreat that all means may be forborne which may make the breach wider." 30

This declaration could be reduced still further, to a recommendation that Charles should stay at home and agree with Parliament, and was thus interpreted, as open support, by the Parliament. So too were their letters to Charles, the relevant parts of which also politely advised him to place himself in Parliamentary hands: "We Your Majesty's most humble and faithful subjects considering that the mutual relation between Your Majesty's Kingdoms of Scotland and England is such, that they must either stand or fall together, and the disturbance of the one, must needs disquiet and distemper the peace of the other, as hath been often acknowledged by them both ... so that they are bound to maintain the peace and liberties of one another being highly concerned therein, as the assured means of the safety and preservation of their own; and feeling ourselves warranted and obliged ... to advance the unity of the two nations by all such ways as may tend to the glory of God and peace

of the Church and State of both Kingdoms" - a quiet reminder of the constant aim of the Scots, a Presbyterian England - "and likewise to proffer our services for the removing of all jealousies and mistakings which may arise between Your Majesty and this Kingdom ... We have taken the boldness to show to Your Majesty that we are heartily sorry and grieved to behold these distractions which increase daily between Your Majesty and your people and which we conceive are entertained by the wicked plots and practices of Papists Prelates and their adherents ... their constant endeavours have been to stir up division between Your Majesty and your people, by their questioning the authority of Parliaments, and the lawful liberties of the subjects, and really weakening Your Majesty's power and authority royal, upon pretence of extending the same, whereof by God's providence being disappointed in Your Majesty's Kingdom of Scotland they have now converted their mischievous counsels, conspiracies and attempts, to produce these distempers in Your Majesty's Kingdom of England and Ireland, And therefore ... we do make offer of our humble endeavours for composing of these differences and to that purpose do beseech Your Majesty in these extremities to have recourse to the sound and faithful advice of the honourable Houses of Parliament, and to repose thereupon as the only happy and assured means to establish the prosperity and quiet of this Kingdom ..." [31] The Chancellor Loudon himself carried into England, to both Parliament and King, these messages, the trend of which was

sufficiently obvious even to bystanders: "since they find that the peace of Scotland is bound up with that of England they cannot in the interests of its maintenance dissociate themselves from the Parliamentarians, a tacit admonition that they will not take the royal side in these unhappy disputes".[32]

These documents were welcomed in an effusive message of gratitude and further invitation, returned to the Commissioners by Pym on behalf of the Commons: "My Lords, We are commanded by the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of Commons, now assembled in this present Parliament, in the name of themselves and the whole Commons of England, to present to you their hearty and affectionate thanks for your wise counsel and faithful advice given to His sacred Majesty, for the appeasing and removing of the present distraction and distempers of this State. My Lords, the House of Commons are very sensible, and do tenderly and affectionately consider, that this your dutiful and faithful advice, is a large testimony of your fidelity to the King, affection to the State ... and very acceptable to this House ..."; after a good deal more of the same kind, "In any other means whatsoever that shall by you be conceived necessary to the composing and settling of these present distractions, they (the Commons) declare themselves desirous to have the same communicated unto them and they shall be right joyful and thankful therefore, and will willingly and cheerfully join with you in the same".[33]

Thus Parliament announced its relief that the Scots had committed themselves, while Charles was feeling a corresponding disappointment, which he expressed presently in pointing out the undeniable fact that the Scottish exhortations to general goodwill were not being taken at face value: "Instead of following the advice of our Council of Scotland (with whom they communicate their affairs)" - a bitter little thrust - "in forbearing all means that may make the breach wider and wound deeper, they have chosen to pursue us with new reproaches".[34]

Curiously, it was this sentence of the King's, with its flash of resentment at the dealings between the kingdoms independently of him, which evoked, among "Some few observations upon His Majesty's late answer", the jealous tirade against Scottish gains already mentioned (page 212) the full text of which is as follows:

> "Our case is not as Scotlands's was at all points, though in many it be very like, for our maligmant party here is far greater and stronger, and more enraged against us, by their own greatness, and more animated by our weakness. Yet we desire but the same satisfaction which Scotland had, without so much reluctance, given them by the King. For their militia, and all other subordinate power in that Kingdom, is settled in such hands as are publicly confided in, and yet this is utterly denied us. And our holding Hull is not like their holding Newcastle, yet their honour is saved, while we are called unparalleled traitors, and they are restored to all demanded rights and securances, whilst we are charged of unpardonable Rebellion, and satisfaction is not offered to us, but required from us, in the most approbrious language that can be, yet still we will not refuse the counsel of the Scots Lords, in yielding to a pacification, nor depart from the example of them, in the manner of securing the same." 35

As well as jealousy of the Scots' gains, this showed the resolve to copy their methods - implying the use of armed force; and, with no English soldiery comparable to the Scottish, neither Parliament nor King was in a position to "refuse the counsel of the Scots". Charles indeed expressed his resentment of their assumption of the right to mediate and advise, as if King, Scottish Government and English Parliament were three separate and equally sovereign powers: "We did not require of you that you should sit as judges upon the affairs of another Kingdom: we only intended to have both our sufferings and our actions made thoroughly known unto you".[36] But he could not yet abandon his efforts to enlist his native kingdom, and sent a further profession of his innocence with an appeal for support, which, towards the end of May, caused such sudden faction and riot in Scotland as Giustinian had earlier foretold: "Even in Scotland there is an interruption of the long quiet between the Covenant and the opposite party. Strife and suspicion have broken out again and each side announces its intention of opposing any movement attempted by the other".[37] Charles' appeal found a response among the "Banders" - Montrose's party, signatories of the Cumbernauld Band, who drew up a petition to the Privy Council "that His Majesty may be cleared and assured of our constant affections and resolutions to keep our solemn and national oath, and that we are not so unthankful to God or to his Vicegerent as so soon to forget that duty incumbent to us ... our

desire doth not tend ... for any other end but for the performance of that humble duty to our dread and native King".[38]

This brought about a competitive show of strength in Edinburgh on the day when the Council deliberated their answer to the King's message that they should "read and consider all that had passed between him and the Parliament, that finding how much he was injured by them in his just and legal prerogative, our Council might, in name of our Kingdom, declare their sense of these wrongs to the Parliament, by what commissioners they pleased".[39] The Covenanters took the threat very seriously. Robert Baillie was on specially friendly terms with Montgomery, a chief Bander, and his letters to both Lord and Lady Montgomery, pleading the abandonment of the petition, show the heat and alarm felt by the ruling side. "We trust that these whom the King and Parliament has entrusted to be counsellors, will be loath to engage us in a new war with our best friends, for no other end, but to put the Isle again, both for religion and liberties, under the feet and sole pleasure of any who guide the Court; for we believe none can be so blind but they see clearly, if the courtiers, for any cause, can get this Parliament of England overthrown by force, that all either they have done or our Parliament has done already, or whatever any Parliament should mind to do hereafter, is not worth a fig."[40]

Here we find the explanation of one of the few problems which the shrewd Giustinian failed to grasp. "It causes some astonishment", he

had written, "that the Scottish Commissioners also, led by their partiality, favour the demands of the Lower House, although it is not to the advantage of their country that these should be granted, as if Parliament controls the distribution of offices the Scots will lose what they now enjoy, and the hope of obtaining them in the future."[41] That was an urgent consideration with many Scots, but the men who had the power took the view that should Charles regain supreme authority, the religious changes which they had achieved against his will would be revoked, and there would be no possibility of extending them to England. The secure establishment of Presbyterian government throughout Britain, necessary to preserve them from Royal and episcopal retribution, would also give them a surer and wider basis of permanent influence and power than any appointments by court-favour: and while they could command, as recent years had shown, a stronger army than could be raised in England, they were able to insist that Presbyterianism should be established by the English Parliament, as that army's price.

This was the reason for their final decision to side with the Parliament, and for Baillie's description of the Banders' petition as "as wicked and dangerous a motion as ever was on foot, to divide our nation, to undo our King, and make fire and sword to rage in all the Isle, and that quickly; and" - the real cause for alarm - "to reverse whatever our Assemblies and Parliaments have been doing these years bygone".[42] The old familiar method of intimidation and scares of

plots were used against the Petition. "The Banders flocked to the town with so great backs, the Chancellor's and Argyll's party was so small, that there was a great rumour raised of a wicked design against Argyll's person: but incontinently the gentry and ministry of Fife running over in thousands, and the Lothians with the town of Edinburgh cleaving to Argyll above expectation, the Banders' courage and companies of horse and foot melted as snow in hot sunshine."[43] A counter-petition was presented by the Covenanters urging the Council "seriously to ponder the consequences of your answer to His Majesty and the Parliament of England at this time ... that your Lordships would be pleased carefully to shun all offers of verbal or real engagements, either directly or by way of inference, without consent of the Parliament".[44] This was backed by such an obvious superiority of numbers that the Council could only return an answer accordingly, full of vague goodwill, but definite enough in refusing to join the King to encourage the Parliament greatly. Making the most of their advantage, the Parliament immediately returned another effusion of gratitude to be printed in Scotland and to circulate there its professions of loyal friendship. "We do with much content and thankfulness observe the faithfulness and good affection of our brethren of Scotland, whereby the hopes of those who practised to have drawn from their Lordships some declarations to the prejudice of this Kingdom were frustrated".[45]

So far the Scots had made plain only that they would not join

Charles against Parliament. Charles still hoped to reverse this decision, and the Parliamentary leaders (though not their followers) hoped to secure a positive alliance, so that both sides continued their attentions to Scotland, and the meeting of the full General Assembly at the beginning of August was marked by a further outbreak of correspondence. "We thought ourselves much honoured by the respectful letters of both the King and Parliament to us," reported Baillie. "It seems it concerned both to have our good opinion."[46] These letters were again typical of the lines of argument of their authors. "The King's letter was read. It was very gracious; yet had a discharge, express enough, to meddle with anything concerned us not ... The Parliament of England also thought meet to send to us ... a Declaration of their earnest desire to have their Church reformed according to the Word of God, and a copy of their Petition to the King for peace."[47]

Representatives were also sent by both King and Parliament, but while the Commissioners of Scots and English Parliaments soon settled down to arrange an agreement for working on Church reform, Charles again had cause to repent of trusting Hamilton. It had been generally thought that after the Incident Charles had at last realised that Hamilton was not to be trusted. His description of the man "very active in his own preservation" was exactly just, and he seemed to have learned that such a man was as dangerous as a deliberate traitor, to the considerable satisfaction of most of his other servants.

"Marquis Hamilton is received again into favour," wrote one man after the reconciliation which smoothed over the Incident, "but he never will be into the good opinion of those who know him well, and his devices to save his own stake here in England";[48] and again, "The Marquis Hamilton is come out of Scotland, but holds not the same greatness with the King he did before he went: and it is whispered if the King's party prevail in Parliament, though he could not be laid on his back in Scotland for all his former subtleties, it may be done for him in England".[49] He accompanied Charles into Yorkshire, but found himself under renewed suspicion - "yet with His Majesty although not much trusted".[50] He "made a speech to the King to vindicate himself of the jealousies that are and have been upon him, wherein he protests not only his own loyalty and fidelity to His Majesty but undertakes with the engagement of his person and fortunes for all his countrymen the Scots, that they are His Majesty's undoubted faithful subjects and servants".[51] The next news of him was "This nobleman has given way to his irritation and proceeded to Scotland. The King is annoyed"[52] - as well the King might be, for however it was given out that Hamilton had gone to see to the King's service, in actual fact he did nothing in the ensuing months but strengthen his alliance with Argyll. "Finding the eyes of all men directed to him with more than ordinary jealousy, he offered the King to go into Scotland, with many assurances and undertakings, confident that he would, at least, keep that people

from doing anything, that might seem to countenance the carriage of the Parliament". Upon which promise, and to be rid of him at York, where he was by all men looked upon with marvellous prejudice, the King suffered him to go."[53] So much for the promise; but as for the performance -

> "The Marquis of Hamilton offered to come home and draw over Argyll to his party, which if it had been done all had been well ... but the Marquis went along Argyll's way, which being notified to the King, his next care was how to get them cut asunder again ... And to this effect William Murray of the bedchamber offered his services, one who had so much reason to be faithful to the King as royalists thought his carriage ungrateful to these favours ... Being come down he went straight to Hamilton where he found Argyll with the Marquis of Hamilton and after these three had conferred four days they did separate and made report that they were discorded. William Murray returned to Court as he had wrought a vassalage, whereas the construction that royalists put upon it was that William Murray had learned them a policy more advantageous to their design than they themselves had formerly thought of. For now when Hamilton professed for the King, whenever Royalists came to be in a capacity to do for his interest, the Lord Hamilton's place and part would get him the leading of it and then he would misguide it and bring it about to Argyll's hand." [54]

Yet the other side also suspected and feared the conference of Murray and Hamilton: "I was ever fearing what William Murray, who was in the deep of all the King's secrets, his long stay in the Abbey, and his frequent private meeting with Hamilton might produce".[55] Months later Hamilton did begin to assert himself again on the Royalist side - as usual, with results as disastrous to Charles as his open opposition would have been: but meanwhile he kept himself withdrawn, probably regaining his shaken nerve. Hamilton, who worked so anxiously to make

himself safe in general goodwill, was not the man to face with equanimity the discovery that he had lost it and was again regarded with hostility on both sides of the pale.

Certainly he made little impression on the Assembly, rather to its surprise: "When the Marquis Hamilton had left, first the Parliament, and then the King, we thought he had come to us with some instructions from the one or both; but it seems he had nothing from either; but to escape drowning, had chosen to leave both for a time, since both could not be kept, and to both his obligations were exceeding great".[56] He did not even attend the Assembly, although the King had written expressly commanding him to do so: and after it was over he remained inactive for some considerable time, while "The Marquises Hamilton and Argyll's intimate familiarity kept down the malcontents from any stirring".[57]

Meanwhile the Commissioners so hastily sent north by Parliament had been engaged in much activity, rewarded by very definite results. The Assembly and Council forwarded to London their reply to the Parliament's latest letters, which expressed grief that in England "the reformation of religion hath moved so slowly and suffered so great interruption"[58] - recalling the promise of reformation in good time, with which, in the Pacification Treaty, England had thought to shelve the problem. Clearly the Scots felt themselves as much in command of the situation as when they occupied northern England, for

they boldly suggested that "The Lord hath now some controversy with England, and which will not be removed, till first and before all the worship of his name, and the government of his house be settled according to his own will. The Assembly doth confidently expect, that England will now bestir themselves in the best way for a Reformation of religion ... and are heartened to renew the proposition for beginning the work of Reformation, at the Uniformity of Church Government ... What hope can the Kingdom and Kirk of Scotland have of a firm and durable Peace, till Prelacy ... be plucked up root and branch?" [59]

This was plain speaking indeed: almost an ultimatum. The bluntness of its demands startled the English Parliament, and the Declaration was received reluctantly; the many accounts of Parliamentary proceedings then being published all describe the "Long and serious debate thereof". [60] However, Pym and the rest "insinuated how necessary it was speedily to return a very affectionate and satisfactory reply to the Kingdom of Scotland ... if they were once assured there was a purpose to reform religion, they should be sure to have their hearts, and if occasion required, their hands too". [61] By this representation they contrived a vote that episcopacy should be abolished, and a report of it to be sent to the Scots, resolving to do away with bishops and establish "such a government as may be most agreeable to God's Holy Word, most apt to procure and conserve the peace of the Church at home, and happy union with the Church of Scotland". [62] This message also

invited "some godly and learned divines of the Scottish Church" to attend the English Assembly proposed for November to work the great change. The Scots construed it as "granting all our desire" - but, while in general terms "of this we were very glad and blessed God", when it came to the selection of the particular divines to go, it was found that not one was willing to undertake the journey to London and the task waiting there, except ineligible royalists: Henderson spoke "passionately" of "great ingratitude and "heavy burdens", and his expectation of death on the road: "Cassilis was much averse and made great opposition. Every man said something: but no man was gotten excused".[63] Neither religion nor policy was strong enough to overcome the reluctance of individuals to venture into what was obviously a dangerous situation, and the unfortunate conscripts were glad of the cold comfort that "The miserable condition of the English affairs" delayed their journey.[64]

In truth they had an uncomfortable time, once finally arrived in London, while the presence of Scots trying to enforce religious changes again roused the permanent jealousy of the people even among the Commons. "All men of understanding recognise", wrote Giustinian, "that this is an attempt on the part of the Scots ... under the pretext of religious zeal to assist the seditious and also to secure other important advantages for themselves in the present disorders of the Kingdom. This new development causes great apprehension to the

Protestants, aimed as it is at essential matters affecting their consciences ... While the business of uniting the two Churches of England and Scotland meets with the full approval of the Puritans, it gives ground for offence to the consciences of true Protestants and it seems likely that motives of such importance may give rise to serious quarrels in England in the future on the score of religion ... there was a prolonged discussion (in the Commons, about bishops) and much feeling was aroused ... out of this, internal dissensions have arisen, with indications that they may spread ... The resolution has been passed ... They have sent an account of this much to the government in Scotland by a gentleman, as a testimony of esteem and to afford an ever more striking testimony of the steadfast intentions of the Parliament here to second the principles and the plans of that nation. They leave nothing undone in their efforts to keep the Scots firm on their side and to prevent them from embracing the cause of the King, as many of the nobles and others in Scotland betray an inclination to do".[65]

Again we notice that the renewed hostility to the Scots, briefly laid aside on their invasion in 1640 and renewed during the subsequent occupation, was far from extinct. Rather it was being suppressed by the force of circumstances, the now actual war with the King, the undeniable power of Scotland: but the continual brief outbursts of it which we have already seen were irrepressible, in every sphere, politics, religion and war.

The attempts of Pym to have Scottish assistance openly requested had been long unsuccessful. Hints, suggestions and unofficial compromises were all that either side would yet consider: these had passed in plenty. In June the Commons had told the Scots that the King's garrison in Newcastle was "against the consent of Parliament: and if it be a breach of the Act of Pacification it is against their wills"[66] - the first of hints afterwards more open that it could well be attacked from the north. Yet the previous Scottish seizure of Newcastle was still a grievance, though expressed only in the jealous arguments of Parliamentary innocence already quoted, as again - "If it was no treason in the Scots within these two years to seize upon Newcastle in England ... why should it be treason in the Parliament peaceably to possess themselves of Hull?"[67] And although "there was every day some motion in the House of Commons to press the Scots to invade the Kingdom for their assistance, upon the growth of the Earl of Newcastle's power in the north",[68] "This overture of calling in the Scots again was an unpopular a thing as could be mentioned".[69] No amount of pamphlets assuring London that the Scots were "resolved to aid and assist his Excellency the Earl of Essex against all that shall oppose him"[70] made such assistance welcome to Englishmen who were still being dunned for the price of their last Scottish assistance, and still having to plead" the many obstructions they have met with which have brought this Kingdom into great exigency and want of money".[71]

Therefore, all that autumn, Scottish soldiers were not officially asked, but some privately engaged. "For want of others, many Scotchmen are entertained to assist the commanders of the Parliamentary forces"[72] - and, as before, England found that Scots soldiers expected prompt and fixed "entertainment": in October the Committee for the safety of the Kingdom had to issue an order for payment of an agreed sum to finance "all the Scotch commanders now entertained".[73] Nevertheless, official recognition was not given to volunteer Scottish soldiers, as distinct from commanders, till after Charles' march on London had stampeded both Houses into the final dispatch, on November 7, of an open appeal for Scottish help to be ready. As the Scots had used the Pacification Treaty as authority to seek religious change, so now the Parliament used it as authority to invoke Scottish aid - "In our judgment the same obligation lies upon our brethren by the aforementioned Act, with the power and force of the Kingdom to assist us", against an army of Papists - "A great cause and incentive of which malice proceed from the design they have to hinder the Reformation of ecclesiastical government in this Kingdom ... And hereupon we further desire our Brethren of the Nation of Scotland, to raise such forces as they shall judge sufficient for the securing the peace of their own borders against the ill-affected persons there, as likewise to assist us in suppressing the army which ... will shortly be on foot here, and if they be not timely prevented, may

prove as mischievous and destructive to that Kingdom, as to ourselves".[74]

In fact - if the Scots allowed the King to triumph, it would be at their own risk: a subtle reminder, strongly reminiscent of the Scots' own quiet blackmail-by-danger when their religion had been in question.

Charles was quick to counter with a message of his own, denying every imputation against him, demanding that the denial be published throughout Scotland, and concluding, "We doubt not a dutiful concurrence in our subjects of Scotland, in the care of our Honours and just Rights".[75]

During the months that followed, while Charles laid aside his chance of a decisive early victory to enter one more period of fruitless negotiation with Parliament, a storm raged in Scotland over these two latest declarations. "The managers at London", according to Clarendon, "had still a great dependence and confidence in their brethren of Scotland, and yet that people moved very slowly".[76] Hopeful pamphlets appeared in London, such as "The Scottish Determination and Loyalty", which praised "The Scots, whose actions are not only weighed with fidelity, but also maturity of consideration",[77] and that which asserted that "finding that the Parliament's proceedings were much opposed by the unhappy disagreement between the King and them, they know no more likely way to make them move forward with greater speed, than by raising a great Army in Scotland, which for the general good of this Kingdom they have now done, and do intend to advance forwards into England with their

forces and to carry themselves in such a just way between the King and Parliament, that the King may be withdrawn from evil counsels and his Parliament defended".[78] This was propaganda, and premature: London was not yet prepared to pay the huge sums in tax which a Scottish army was known to cost. Instead, Parliament voted that "if any Colonel or other officer in Scotland shall contract with the Parliament's agents in that Kingdom for the bringing in of any force into Yorkshire against the Earl of Newcastle's force of Papists it shall be accepted".[79] Official recognition was now (December) accorded to Scottish volunteers; in less than three months there was "high quarrels between the English and Scottish officers, insomuch as many swords were one day drawn between them ... about some difference in words concerning their pay and a former grudge ... which gave so great umbrage, that many of the Scots, some of eminent command, quitted the service".[80] The jealous national antipathy was strong as ever.

Affairs in Scotland also gave Parliament cause for anxiety, for Hamilton appeared after his long seclusion, in his character as Royalist, in favour of printing the King's declaration and suppressing the Parliament's, and he made surprising headway before the Covenanters realised that it was time to lay aside their pique over English tardiness. "It was a wonder, if they desired any help, that they designed not to use some better means for its obtaining":[81] Baillie expresses the mood. The November petition had been backed only by the

dispatch of one agent to Edinburgh, "express to obtain from that nation some vigorous assistance".[82] This much harassed man, Sir John Pickering, was involved in a bitter personal rivalry and feud with that other prince of intrigue, William Murray, and was also heavily handicapped by his lack of definite official status. His letters to Pym, some dozen of which survive, constantly complain of this hindrance during the uneasy winter months: "I wonder that you provide not for all these accidents by giving me or somebody else power in them ... It were well I had some letter of credit that I might be believed if I appeared publicly in any such occasion".[83]

Pickering, whose letters prove Pym's active, if small, secret service in Scotland, made the strongest representation to Argyll of the English Parliament's inevitable resentment if the King's declaration were circulated and theirs suppressed: they would be "deeply vexed and wounded", and particular threat was made against the man now recognised as the weakest link in any chain: "I told them I thought the Parliament would take it very ill, the Marquis of Hamilton ... should appear a party against the Parliament which had deserved so well at his hands, and I feared it would be interpreted that he made a party against the Parliament, because all his friends voted with him. I spoke this that it might be told the Marquis, and if I find it is not I will speak to some shall tell him of it".[84] It was a perfectly fair forecast: the news that the King's declaration had been published no

sooner reached London than pamphlets were spreading the report that Hamilton was responsible; "whence it is evident that he departed not from the King at York in discontent as it was rumoured, but to do disservice against the Parliament and Kingdom. Verbum sapienti sat est sed latet Anguis in herba".[85]

However, Hamilton's burst of activity proved in the end the necessary spur to move successful counter-activity by the Covenant. The printing of the King's letter only "put us all agast" (Baillie), for they feared a royal levy would follow, so that again thousands flocked to Edinburgh to protect their leaders, and again angry petitions forced the Council's hand. A Royalist petition to the Council to leave England alone and not weaken Scottish loyalty to Charles was savagely suppressed, and presbyteries throughout the country were ordered to punish any who subscribed it. Upon this the royalist leaders hastily left the country and went to Charles. The Parliament's letter was duly published, and commissioners were chosen to go on an embassy of mediation, carrying instructions to petition the King to disband his army and return to his Parliament, and to call a Scottish Parliament and Assembly. Altogether, Pickering's jubilation was justified as he wrote to Pym on January 9, 1643, "I must tell you, the face of affairs is much more promising than it was anytime since my coming hither. The coals now want only blowing from England, and this Kingdom will soon be on fire ... The ministers in the pulpits do in

downright terms press the taking up of arms for rescuing His Majesty from that captivity wherein papists hold him, and these words must be seconded with deeds, they have hitherto gone by that rule, not to open their pack, and sell no wares, and it is thought they will not change their minds". And, still enthusiastic, but in the complaints of slackness reflecting the difficulty Pym was having in fighting the deep English aversion to Scots: "What the reason is we hear not from you I cannot understand, if you think this Kingdom may be serviceable unto you, it is a wonder you are not more earnest in it ... never had men greater opportunities, but God does not please to give you hearts to make use of them, here is now that Spirit in this Kingdom which will not easily be laid".[86] Again, to Sir John Clotworthy, "A little quickening and backing from London would set us agog. I hope you will not be unmindful, delays are now most dangerous. It will be too late to strike if the iron grows cold again".[87]

Pickering realised, however, that the revival of concern and determination was on both sides equal: "They are now awakened on both sides, malignants grow very mad and the well affected bold for God".[88] Baillie's letters are full of accounts of the "malignants'" renewed activity in petition and politics; he calculated at this time that "As yet the ministry, boroughs, and most of the gentry stand fast; but we fear the two parts of our nobility and many of our gentry".[89] The turn of events now depended on the course of the Oxford negotiations

between the King and Parliament, to which the Scottish "mediators" made haste.

While the outcome was awaited, during February and March, a Scottish sermon in print was current in London, violently assuring the English that Scotland was resolute, and as violently upbraiding them for suspicions, jealousies and delays.[90] At the same time "Parliament looks for great advantage from the offices of the three Commissioners from Scotland. They announce that the Council of Scotland, influenced by the wishes of the people, has practically decided to move in favour of their party here".[91] Yet this was also the time of the quarrel and open fight between Parliamentary and Scottish soldiers, mentioned above, (page 234), and of "the remonstrances of the English, who considered their nation slighted by having a Scot in command of the royal armies",[92] which on the Royalist side compelled Charles to replace King by Hertford and again demonstrated the universal bias against the Scots.

At Oxford the Scots, termed themselves "conservators of peace between the two Kingdoms",[93] with the right of mediation by the Pacification Treaty, and, further to mark their equal status, would communicate with no intermediaries, but with the King himself. This assumption of independence, with the request for Scottish Parliament and Assembly and for Charles' reconciliation with his Parliament in London, was naturally and deeply resented by the King, and they were

treated with bare frigid civility, their request politely but firmly refused. Recalled at the end of April, they sought leave to visit London on their way: but Charles could not seriously be expected to allow it. He might well feel that there had been too much communication between them and the Parliament already. Their petition for reform, unity and uniformity of religion "was no sooner (if so soon) presented to the King, than it was sent to London and printed and communicated with extraordinary industry to the people, that they might see how far the Scottish nation would be engaged for the destruction of the Church".[94] Also, the Earl of Lindsay one of the Scots Commissioners to Parliament, went to Oxford to meet them, "and will give them particulars of the most recondite intentions of the Parliament here".[95] Charles therefore refused the permission both to the Scots themselves, and to the English negotiations in the peace treaty about to be abandoned, who also asked him to allow the Scots to visit London. He gave as his reason that if he granted their pass, after they had claimed the right of mediation, he would be taken to concede that right: and his thereafter refusing their decision "should be quarrel sufficient for the whole nation to engage".[96] The Scots therefore returned direct to Edinburgh, where they reported to the assembled committees of Church, Council and Parliament that they had been "exceedingly slighted" and that "no private or familiar conference they got, but all in public, in a very harsh way".[97] These pathetic

reports and the King's sharp messages declining the various petitions hardened Scottish feeling. While the Commissioners' return was awaited, Baillie wrote, "The armies are making for a new battle; the Lord save the King and all his family from the least evil. Our prayers are likewise for assistance to the Parliament; for all men who here are counted good, continue to be of this opinion, that the welfare of the reformed religion, not only this Isle, but all Christendom, does much depend on their prosperity".[98] But after their report was made, the rulers in Edinburgh had no hesitation in summoning a Convention of Estates - a Parliament in all but royal warrant - in open defiance of the King. It was to be in June, and of it Baillie wrote, "we are all alight for this great meeting. It is expected there will be there Commissioners from the Parliament of England to require us to arm for them".[99] Scotland was about to stop praying for both sides and join one against the other.

The decision to call a Parliament without royal authority was hurried on, and immediately it was taken, Loudon and Argyll left Edinburgh: the entire business was done within ten days, and on the eleventh came Lanark with further messages from the King, "in a great rage" because the Covenanting leaders had gone and "a Council could not be called to hear him". He then "sends to all, at least the chief, burghs and noblemen particular letters from His Majesty declaring most solemnly his resolution to keep all, which by our Parliaments and

Assemblies had been decreed ... declaring the King's mind to keep what was promised to us, but withal running out in bitter invective against the Parliament of England".[100]

The delay which caused Lanark to miss his chance of opposing the summoning of the Estates was caused by disagreement among the Royalist Scots. Since the Queen had landed in February, two schools of thought had been urging their theories on her and on Charles.

> "The gallant Marquis of Montrose, at his first coming out of Scotland to the Queen at York, soon after her landing, had acquainted Her Majesty of the intention of the Scottish Covenanters to bring an Army into England to assist the Parliament against the King: yet so far had Hamilton's insinuations grounded a contrary belief, both in Her Majesty and the King, that neither with her here, nor with His Majesty afterwards at Oxford, could he gain credit, but (such power had the two brothers, Hamilton and Lanark, then at Court, and so great a confidence had the King of their loyalty) his relations of the Covenanters' designs were by most looked upon as fables, and his propositions of remedies before they could come to too great a head, looked upon only as the motions of his own ambitious mind, the easier to get into command. Till at length, first by the continued reports of the raising of that army, and at length by their personal invasion of England, the King was forced to believe, that whatever Montrose had told him was really true, and that he was betrayed by his too much credulity in the Hamiltons." [101]

Charles' "too much credulity in the Hamiltons" did him another great disservice, in inducing him to disbelieve Montrose's warnings at this time. "Montrose absolutely refused to join in any service with Hamilton, whom he avowed had been, and would ever be, untrusty";[102] he was right; Hamilton's judgment was as untrustworthy as his nerve. His exertions over the publishing of declarations and petitions in the

Christmas crisis seemed to reinvest him with the glamour which always blinded Charles about him. Now he was able, a few weeks before the Estates convened, to end his long dispute with Montrose with a speech of astonishing wilful blindness, which nevertheless convinced Charles. "My Lord Marquis Hamilton had declared himself very freely to the King before all the Lords in divers particulars, one I remember, that where it had been said here that there is a party in Scotland that will take part with the Parliament against the King, he has undertaken upon his head that his countrymen will never do such a thing, and so had obliged himself to answer for that particular and party and desires that he may be pledge for them."[103]

Charles acted on this belief by sending both Montrose's and Hamilton's following of nobles back into Scotland to work up royalist sentiment there: "to prevent any motion might be among us",[104] commented Baillie. It had unfortunate results in every way. Lanark came too late to prevent the Convention - whereupon Hamilton advised Charles to do nothing to stop it - and the letter from some of the others asking the Queen for a small force as escort was captured and "represented as a great betrayal"[105] of considerable propaganda value for the Covenanters. It was outshone, however, by the "Antrim plot" - the suggestion that an Irish force should join the Scottish Royalists in striking the first blow, submitted by Montrose at York but rejected by the King. Now discovered by the Covenanters, it was

announced before the Convention with all the shattering effect of earlier "conspiracies", the Army Plot, the Incident; and proved fully as alarming as "Waller's Plot" against the London Parliament which had been unmasked with equal drama, and equally convenient results, only four days earlier. Waller's Plot was the argument which finally persuaded the House of Lords to agree to an assembly of divines for reform, and the whole Parliament to take a "Parliamentary Covenant", which Pym had been urging ever since October 1642. Antrim's plot, when announced in London, so wrought upon the Parliament that it was decided to send to Edinburgh to ask for Scottish help and counsel, and to renew the invitation for some Scottish ministers to attend the assembly of divines, now at last arranged.

In Edinburgh, the Convention met among "backs" of armed supporters even more numerous than usual - "never a Parliament so great".[106] Hamilton, now a Duke, tried in vain to limit the Convention's scope: it voted itself "absolute" and "we thought the necessity of putting our country in a posture for arms great, and our assisting of the Parliament of England also necessary against that party, whom we doubted not, intended our overthrow no less than theirs ... I saw in all our nation at that time a very great good will to the Parliament's cause. The plot of Antrim had wakened in all a great fear of our own safety and distrust of all the fair words that could be given us".[107] The anti-royalist cause was always well served by

the plots, real or contrived, which came in never-ending succession. This one just served to bridge an awkward gap: for that letter of Baillie's continued, "but this unexpected neglect of the Parliament had made other thoughts begin to arise in the hearts of many".

The fact was that the Convention had met in full expectation of a formal treaty with the English Parliament: this was viewed as "the main errand of the meeting. We did certainly expect that the Parliament of England, understanding perfectly the calling of our Estates so long before ... without fail would have had commissioners from both Houses waiting on at least the day of our meeting. Yet there was no word of them; all did much admire that not so much as one excuse was made of this so great neglect ... Yet the most thought the greatest cause of their irresolution to flow from their division ... The jealousy the English have of our nation, much beside all reason, is not well taken".[108]

Had it not been for the effect of the Antrim plot, the Convention might not have waited so patiently, occupying itself with the levy of forces"for defence" and of heavy taxes to maintain them. "They are energetically collecting troops",[109] came news to London, and several great Royalist victories finally made it essential for the Parliament to have these troops' assistance. It was resolved "to desire their brethren of that Kingdom presently to send an army for their relief", and an express courier was sent North to apologise for the delay, explaining that Parliament's time was absorbed by dealing

with plots. The "message on message of their Commissioners' despatch" which now followed was shrewdly attributed by the Scots to the Parliamentary defeats, and recognised to be "much against the stomechs of many".[110] The courier was returned to London accompanied by one Squire Meldrum who was "to know what we may expect from them anent Uniformity of Church Government: if in this he bring no satisfaction to us quickly it will be a great impediment to their affairs here". The Scots were again growing impatient and imperious, and the English, although "their slowness in all their affairs is marvellous", were reluctantly forced to surrender themselves.[111]

By this time the English Parliament was but a shadow of itself. Yet even this warped and attenuated Parliament reacted with alarming violence against the proposition openly to call in the Scots. "It was thought so desperate a cure" that one of the Lords selected as a Commissioners contrived a medical certificate of unfitness, while the other bluntly refused, even preferring imprisonment in the Tower: while "they who sent them were so far from being confident, and so little satisfied, that there was, some few desperate persons only excepted, even a universal desire for peace".[112] Propositions for peace were made in the Lords: there was a very real danger of Pym's losing control of the Parliament; for the Commons actually voted to take the Lords' peace propositions into consideration. It was necessary to employ Pym's own "army", the London mob, the violent

preaching of the London ministers, and a completely false alarm of the landing of an army of Irish papists, to reverse the votes for peace.

Meantime Meldrum had delivered the declaration that the Scots "are with all forwardness ready to assist them to the uttermost of their powers, and express the desire of their speedy sending the Parliament's Commissioners to them, and they will then make no long work of it".[113] This pledge was severely qualified by thirteen "reasonable but ticklish" articles, by which "while the Scots express their readiness to help, they make it clear that they are not willing to incur a certain expense for uncertain and feeble hopes of reward ... they claim large sums of money and places of refuge as well. They were examined by a few Commissioners who would not inform Parliament in order not to discourage it about such help by so many difficulties".[114] However, a reply was sent with gratitude and almost abject promises to pay the arrears of Brotherly Assistance and various other debts, besides reiteration of the powers granted to the Commissioners already on their way to satisfy their Scottish brethren.[115] And so, on August 7, the Commissioners arrived at Leith.

"At last, after we were shamed with waiting", was the feeling of the Convention and the Assembly (now also sitting). Their members "were exhorted to be more grave than ordinary", and altogether the Scots justly felt themselves in a position of command even superior to

that of the occupation. "For the present the Parliament side is running down the brae. They would never, in earnest, call for help, till they were irrecoverable; now when all is desperate, they cry aloud for our help."[116] Truly nothing less than the vital imminence of military defeat could have produced this appeal which was now made with abandoned desperation. Years later, Denzil Holles described the negotiations with abundant scorn: "In all haste they send to the Scots to come and help, with open cry, Save us or we perish. They promise anything, offer anything, for the present, that the Scots would have them do: The honour of England is not thought of; liberty of conscience and the godly party, are not mentioned: But all that was heard was the Covenant, Uniformity in Church Government, uniting the two Nations, never to make peace without them".[117] Another contemporary described the Commissioners' arrival - "declaring the pitiful condition of England and acknowledging their oversight in not making more timeous advances unto this Kingdom for supply and help ... and made a great apology for the not timely payment of their Brotherly Assistance".[118]

Their situation being so desperate, the English Commissioners could secure no very favourable terms. Indeed, the Scots were inclined to be affronted by their temerity even in arguing some points, although of necessity "there was an easy consent from the committee of the English, to any expedient that might thoroughly engage the other

nation".[119] The military necessity being so urgent, negotiations went forward quickly, if not altogether smoothly. "I found all thought it most necessary to assist the English; yet of the way there was much difference ... In our committees also we had hard enough debates. The English were for a civil league, we for a Religious covenant. When they were brought to us in this, we were not like to agree upon the frame; they were, more nor we could agree to, for keeping of a door open in England to Independency. Against this we were peremptory."[120] Here Baillie had summed up the irreconcilable difference of the Scottish and English views of the contract now entered upon. These differences were never settled, although the guiding spirit of the English Commission, the younger Vane, succeeded in his mission to "cozen and deceive a whole nation" by being "resolved to pay their own price for their friendship", although he "was not afterwards more known to abhor the covenant and the presbyterians than he was at that very time known to do".[121] Thus, he accepted the Scots' demands of £100,000 cash down, and a Solemn League and Covenant for British Church reform and unity, caring only to insert some ambiguous phrases which might later serve as loopholes of escape from the agreement.

The Solemn League and Covenant was accepted and proclaimed by the Convention on August 17, and immediately rushed down to London, where it was received with compulsory rapture. The "Perfect Diurnal"

contained nothing else, day after day, but its progress through the Assembly of Divines, the Commons and the Lords. It was "an infallible testimony of their ready compliance": "weneed not distrust that the Scots will not advance the business for sending of forces into this Kingdom, till they hear of our agreement".[122] The Diurnal's faith was misplaced: however, the agreement was rushed through both Houses, although some doubtful passages were set aside to await the Scottish Commissioners' further advice, and Vane's saving qualification of Church Reform, "according to the Word of God" was retained - which in effect left the whole question open still. It was glossed over in this frantic September, when in addition to his victories the King achieved a truce with the Irish rebels which drove London and the Parliament almost insane with terror. The Covenant was taken by Parliament and divines, and "soon after ordered all the people in England to swear to ... the pulpiteers in and about London menaced no less than hell and damnation to those who refused to take it; and not only did they preach up it, but likewise with might and main preached up advance money for bringing in the Scots: insomuch that the minister of the Savoy blasphemously told his audience: That they ought to contribute, and pray, and do all they were able to bring in their brethren the Scots, for the settling of God's cause: I say (says he) this is God's cause; and if ever God had a cause, this is it; and if this be not God's cause, then God is no God for me".[123]

A cause that needed such frenzied hysteria to force its acceptance had the poorest prospects of success.

English and Scots were no better disposed to each other now than ever they had been. The Parliamentary leaders were in desperate need of help against the King, for they had offended so deeply that there could be no agreement with him for them; and as they had despotic control of the shadow-Parliament, England, as represented by that Parliament, agreed to another Scottish alliance. But the real England was bitterly against it; and there was hardly more enthusiasm in Scotland. There, it was understood that support of the Parliament was the most hopeful way of destroying English episcopacy, the fixed aim of the Presbyterian ministers and of Argyll's Covenanted following, who now wielded between them a power autocratic as Pym's and with a wider base of voluntary allegiance. This new Solemn League and Covenant was to prove even more disastrous to both countries than their previous attempts to use each other. Our study does not extend so far: but the fate of the Solemn League and Covenant can be foretold from the way in which it was made and received. In spite of the many protestations of joy on both sides, the hollowness of the alliance seems to have been recognised from the first. However the London Diurnal might assure its readers of instant Scottish aid, these eager allies, in the very hour of pledging their help in a blaze of religious fraternity, could consider calmly, "The year through their default was far spent, and little possibility there was for us to arm so late. The corn behoved

to be first cut: and in this God has been very gracious: never a better crop, nor more early with us: the beginning of October is like to end our harvest. Also we could not stir till England did accept and enter in theCovenant and send down moneys".[124]

Again, by considering the writings of this ardent Covenanter, we can see how purely compulsory was the acceptance of the alliance by either country. The Covenant was to be sworn by every Scot "with certificate of Church censures and confiscation of goods presently to be inflicted on all refusers. With a marvellous unanimity was this everywhere received. A great many averse among us from this course who bitterly spoke against our way everywhere, and none more than some of our friends: yet in God's good mercy all that I have yet heard of have taken the oath".[125] It is hard to believe that this passage is not deliberately ironical. As for England - "We know the best of the English have very ill will to employ our aid, and the smallest hopes they get of subsisting by themselves, makes them less fond of us: and" (various small Parliamentary victories) "puts them in new thoughts ... Mr. Henderson's hopes are not great of their conformity to us before our army be in England".[126]

It is hoped that this study has shown the Solemn League and Covenant to be the last and most unwelcome of a number of unlucky attempts by England and Scotland to exploit each other: the culmination of a game of competitive catspaws. Scotland had so far had the best

of it, but whenever an effective army could be raised England had every intention of levelling the score. These two had always been natural enemies, and in spite of a brief series of unnatural, uneasy alliances, studied in this thesis, they remained so still. Denzil Holles' estimate of the sincerity of the Parliamentary negotiations through Vane, describes with equal justice the whole tone of Anglo-Scottish relations in the period 1637-43: "They meant afterwards to be even with them, to perform nothing of what was de futuro to be done, to serve their terms by them, to make them instrumental for their delivery at that plunge and send them home again in scorn and discontent, which they have since sufficiently laboured to do".[127]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

National Library, Edinburgh. Mss. 2688.

The Scots Scouts Discoveries collected by their London intelligencer and presented to the Lords of the Covenant of Scotland, AD 1639.

The first Scouts Discovery.

I came to Dover in a Flemish bottom where after a days rest I went to see the castle but I was forced to feign myself one of Madam Nurse's kindred and spoke nothing but French or else I had not been admitted This Castle is called the key of the land but is grown rusty for want of exercise for most of the ordinance are dismounted their carriages standing one half in the ground and the other out, here lay one wheel, and there lay another ... I wondered to see such a confusion in so eminent a place but I was told that the last great tempest was the cause of it ... I came down to the town and left the Castle with a memento to look to itself lest the French do it for them. This I observed amongst them, that if the French had been as provident as the Dutch to have seated themselves in Dover then the Most Christian King might have had this Castle at his command ... The next day I came to Canterbury ... I went to hear a sermon where (they said) the Archbishop of St. Albans was to preach. I was in a maze to hear him there, but the noise of the organs soon put me out of my dumps. Now (thought I) he is in his kingdom for he hath danced a long time after this music. When service was done I thought to have heard him tell the people some news out of Scotland but the old carle spake not one word thereof ...

As I came along I saw the King's storehouse at Chatham and some of the King's ships which are of such bigness as a small ship may be built ere they can be rigged and brought to sea to do any service; when I came to Gravesend I saw the great fleet riding in the Hope ready to carry the Marquess and his men for Scotland. But there fell out a foul fray between the parson of the parish and the pursers for demanding double duties for burying such soldiers as died on shipboard ... There was a new, rare invention lately set on foot for blowing up castles and forts but for a conclusion it was first blown up itself and now an engineer hath begged it of the King and new built it, for which he hath promised to blow up all the islands in the frith in Scotland that the King's ships may have sea room to besiege Leith ...

(Here follows a long and scornful description of an Anglican service and baptism)

The next morning I got up betimes and went to the Exchange to meet our Intelligencer where when I came the news was at an end for their packets were opened and their letters taken away which made a mighty muttering amongst them ...

The Second Scouts Discovery.

... We landed in Sussex near old Arundell, where we went to see the country, the strongest defence whereof is the number and greatness of its owner's titles. It's kept by four priests, two porters and a ratcatcher ...

Portsmouth is but meanly provided with ammunition, and therefore they were all in a maze for fear the French should come in a fog. Southampton was the next place I came at and here the Aldermen were busy begging a benevolence for the war, but because I had none for them I thought it better to show them my backside than be called Rebel for refusing.

The Third Scouts Discovery.

I came in a Kirk Patrick boat all along the Irish Seas where we saw some soldiers sent from thence to the Lord Clifford at Carlisle.

We landed three of our men in Wales because (being papist) they would eat no meat on Fridays but they were quickly snapt up for Covenanters and called Rebels for refusing the Oath of Supremacy And shortly afterwards were termed Traitors by open proclamation ...

In all our voyage we saw but only two of the King's ships which were sent to scour the seas ...

We put in at Plymouth where there is a good harbour and good forth and sorrily lookt unto ...

All the news in London was only that the night before the keepers of the new forest having burnt some fern and furze that night, the people perceiving the fire, thought the French had been come and burned Richmond whereupon all the country was up in arms, but on the morrow when they understood the matter, all was turned to a jest - such another as that when the beasts at Berwick put the town in an uproar ...

The next morning I got up betimes to go to our Intelligencer but ere I came at Whitehall I was pressed for the King's service whereupon I presently fell lame of my left leg, and with a pitiful look I said Messer Constable I am a poor lame passenger I pray you let me pass, but if I must have your money, then change me one shilling for another, with that I blest myself with a good angel and then gave it him for his shilling, which he perceiving put it up, and so out of pure love let me pass.

The Intelligencer's Own.

... That about Mid Lent the names of all strangers as well French and Dutch as Scots were collected in and about London and sent to the King ... The voice went that all the Protestant strangers should have been sentinto New England (if the King could have spared shipping) ... but now the Scots taking their new oath to fight against their conscience and country ... they may all stay in old England if they choose.

That when the King lay at Newcastle Fleetwood's news came fleeting to London, with as many lies as lines in it but that's no matter, Colonels may lie by Commission It tells us of your iron flails harrows knives and the like taken going to you from Sheffield and threatens to beat you with your own weapons ...

That halter and ballad makers are two principal trades of late Ballads being sold by whole hundreds in the city and halters being

sent by whole barrels full to Berwick to hang up the Rebels with, as soon as they can catch them ...

That the news at London ... comes out by owl-light in little books or ballads to be sold in the street , And I fear it's held a prime piece of State policy (for otherwise how could so many false books and ballads be tolerated) ...

I needed no guide to Newcastle for whole troops of soldiers lay lame in the way ...

Some of the captains and soldiers being displeased with these orders (publicly posted camp regulations) pulled them down and put up other ten in their place. 1. That no man be too forward to fight until he know the quarrel And that such correspondence be kept with the Covenanters as they do with us upon pain of the next Parliament's displeasure .... Hereby you may perceive there is no great unity in the camp ... for take this for a general observation throughout England, That many of the best of the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty of the Kingdom are well-wishers to the cause albeit they be not openly seen in it. So as I may truly tell you, that though Nature hath provided two hands for one heart yet God hath prepared two hearts for one hand that is to fight against you.

That most of the common soldiers in the camp are such as care not who lose so they may get, being mere atheists and barbarous in their resolution And indeed they are the very scum of the kingdom

(such as their friends have sent out to be rid of) who care not if both Kingdoms were on fire so they might share the spoil as may appear by their common catch (which they sing as followeth) We care not what's the cause, We care not what may fall, So we may have the spoil, That's that, we look for all.

(And finally, after an English expedition returned from a peaceful parley with the Scots)

... When the English army saw their followers return in this manner it caused a great confusion amongst them, but when they truly understood the matter, Let us have peace let us have peace the most cried ...

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

Harleian Mss. 4931. 247. From the Commissioners of Scotland Feb 24, 1641

As our declarations and remonstrances before our coming into England, were necessary for manifesting the Truth against the lies and calumnies of our enemies, so did we conceive, that afterwards they should not be needful. Our deportments, and carriages in this great cause, which are no other in secret, than they are openly, being real demonstrations of the integrity of our intentions, and proceedings, in all our ways.

Malice notwithstanding is so impudent and indefatigable that although she hath printed on her face the black characters of many gross lies, which are visible to all, and cannot be washed off, and although by the force of Truth, the daughter of time, she hath received many wounds and dashes, which shall never be cured, yet dare she open her mouth again, and wearieth not to keep her own strain, but in a contrary course; for now beginneth she to suggest, that after we have in a good part obtained our own ends: we have lessened our care of our neighbours and that our love towards them is become lukewarm, that we are become remiss in our zeal against Prelacy, the cause of all our broyles, and in the pursuit of these two firebrands, which had wasted all, if God in his mercy had not prevented so great a mischief.

We marvel not at Malice, nor do we desire to be reconciled unto her, for that were to lose ourselves, and the Cause of God, and therefore

we think it not strange, that she is the same, which she hath been, and must be to the end; but that by her suggestions and practices, tending, by raising of jealousies and suspicions, to divide the two Kingdoms, the two Houses of Parliament, and either house in itself, she should so far prevail with any, who have not laid aside both wisdom and charity, as that the smallest jealousy or suspicion of us should enter in their heart (for them to live and lodge, we will not permit). This it is which hath caused this paper.

What just cause of indignation we had against the two incendiaries is known by our accusations, which (as we understand) are now published to the world, and by these also, beside our situation expressed in all our Words, writs and actions, Our judgement and intentions concerning Episcopacy both in Scotland and England, are in some measure expressed. We confess it were levity, to be found building that which we have been pulling down, or to plant that which we have been plucking up. It were impiety to spare much more to plead for guilty Agag, and cursed Babel, which God in his justice hath doomed to destruction: and it were folly for all of us, and a denying of our own experience, to imagine that both they, and the Kingdoms can have peace; but all these imputations might be justly tripled upon us, if now after we have seen their works, and bitter fruits in England, we should not remember the Maxim never to be forgotten, The safety of the people is the sovereign law, and that Mercy to the bad is cruelty to the good.

And therefore, we desire that your Lordships would be pleased to represent so much from us to the Parliament, and with all, that for the present, according to the commission given to us, we do long to see justice done upon the Lieutenant, of Ireland, earnestly craving according to the famous and laudable custom of that grave and honourable council, He may bear the punishment, which the atrocity of his crimes do deserve, which should be much for His Majesty's honour, and for the peace of all His Majesty's good subjects, who will be out of hope of the redress of their grievances, if the wicked, who have caused all their woes, be either justified, or spared. Better one perish, than Unity.

Harleian Mss. 4931. 249. From the Scottish Commissioners. March 1, 1641.

We desire that your Lordships may be pleased to show unto His Majesty and the Parliament, that in our last paper of Feb 24, 1640 (old style), our intention and desire was merely to vindicate ourselves and our actions from certain aspersions, and to remove some jealousies and suspicions, which by a new device of our enemies were without cause raised against us, and to our great discontent did often fill our ears. This we did conceive to be a necessary duty on our part, fearing that such misreports might take place in the minds of those who did not know our innocency, and considering that our actions might be arrested to a sense contrary to our honest meaning, and tending to the very great prejudice of the weighty affairs with which we are entrusted from a whole Kingdom, and having cleared ourselves, and satisfied our brethren and friends, we had all that in this we did desire. But as the printing of that paper had no warrant, nor order from us, who have no power to command, nor to forbid the press, So was it far from our intention either to give unto His Sacred Majesty the least cause of offence, or to stir sedition, or to make the smallest trouble in this Church or Kingdom, to which we wish all true peace and happiness, or to stretch out ourselves beyond our line, and to prescribe and give rules for reformation either within Church or policy, which cannot be expected but from His Majesty's own royal consideration and the wisdom and justice of the representative body

of the Kingdom now sitting in Parliament, in whose affairs we desire to have no further hand but so far as they may concern us, and the peace betwixt the two Kingdoms. What evils our religion had suffered from the bishops of England from the long experience of our church ever since the time of our Reformation we did in some measure before express in our charge against Canterbury. And what we have further in commission to propose for preventing the like evils afterwards, and for settling of a firm and happy peace, and nearer union betwixt the Kingdoms, which is and shall be the chiefest of our desires, shall in its own place be remonstrate, in such a way as may both give satisfaction and be furthest from all cause of offence.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV

Egerton Mss. 2355. Nicholas Papers. Correspondence. Vol. I.
Thomas Webb from Edinburgh, Sept 21-27, 1641.

"Upon this rock (as you call it) of officers all sticks: The King did many days since intimate who they were he would recommend, but none were declared until this morning, before which time I must acquaint you what did pass and hath now happened. The King as I wrote you word in my last did offer the Chancellorship to my Lord of Argyll or (as I am since better informed) the Treasurer's place to him or any friend of his, the choice of either place, but did then declare that he was resolved to dispose of the other himself to my Lord Morton, a person to whom my Lord of Argyll had obligation enough; from this day everybody endeavoured all they could, to advance, or cross this choice of the King's, and my Lord Argyll is thought a principal man opposing, whereupon I hear the King taxed him for it in a good round way, by his ordinary, but my Lord Argyll had these limmers' defence for anything (his conscience) for excuse. The business did rest a week agitated to and fro, some said it was impossible and therefore laboured the King not to expose his will to a denial, others swore the King could not be denied finally if His Majesty would propose it like a man and stand upon it, and by the way, these swearers say, that the King might carry everything, if he did not undo himself by yielding, this the King hath heard of both ears and I believe it hath

begot a great trouble in him: Always he is once said to be resolved, and to bide by it and having this morning named my Lord Morton, this followed thereupon: that my Lord Argyll stood up in full Parliament and opposed it, saying that it was very considerable to the people who were great officers, for by them the King's justice was to be distributed unto all, it behoved that they were clear in their judgments and reputation, and free in their fortunes and dependance, which latter he knew my Lord Morton was not, and that himself was much engaged for him, and more that he knew my Lord Morton had a protection lying ready these two years, to pass the great seal. This could not but stir my Lord Morton to a sharper reply than came from him, that he confessed his estate was burdened, but that he owed no thing but what his fortune was sufficient to discharge, and for protection he had none neither would he ever make use of one, but thankfully let alone the King's gracious intention, which was to have been in case of extreme rigour used towards him. For my Lord of Argyll he should be freed of what he stood engaged for him tomorrow if he will, but he thought there was more due from my Lord of Argyll to him, having loved him from childhood, having preserved both his estate and his honour to him, by the grace and mercy of King James (and for that he called the King to witness, who did it very handsomely), that after all these cares and benefits, he did little expect that the receiver of them should have opposed him in such a strain as was there done before the King and

Parliament, to whom he left the judgment of himself and my Lord of Argyll, who was ready to reply that most of this that was said on either part was true, and that he had not been wanting to requite my Lord Morton, for whose debts if he had not taken order at this time, he could not have been where he was to trouble them now, therfore my Lord Argyll desired the protection might be recalled, and then let things happen as they would, hereupon my Lord of Almond interposed the order of the House, that no private business should be treated, which the King took up, and commanded that the public might be considered, and to have their declaration upon his nomination of my Lord Morton, who was a person of noble family, and parts, and that his was a house well affected to him and this country, which His Majesty did desire to re-establish; thus the business ended for the time, and the Parliament is now this afternoon taking further consideration of it, which I will add at night if this packet go not away before ...

I have expected a further resolution from this afternoon's meeting, but get none, they have trifled away the time in by questions, whether the King should name until he were advised by them, and the like, which if they were granted they have in effect all, both naming and approbation, and the King nothing left but pronouncing their liking. Since their coming from Parliament my Lord Morton and many other Lords came to the King,and entreated him to be constant, or at least but to leave them to themselves, and they would carry the business

in spite of the opposers, God knows what this may come to, for I believe also the other part will set up their stake upon it ...

Sept 27. I could not find in my heart by the last packet to tell you what became of the choice of my Lord Morton, who by the King's leave hath demitted the same, but by whose relenting that's not known, whether the King was gained upon, by persuasion, or my Lord Morton failed in the expectation of his party, always the first choice is crossed and a new choice made, of my Lord Loudon for Chancellor and my Lord Almond for Treasurer, and this is again opposed, first in the change of Loudon whom they desire should be Treasurer because it is the better place, and then in the choice of Almond, whom they would have nought from the King although he were their Lieutenant-General, because he was one of the Banditors who subscribed with Montrose. This scene is now acting and Almond stout in it, and hath spoke big words to Argyll, himself, that he would not quit the King's honour done him as long as he had any blood in veins for any man's pleasure whomsoever, unless there were better reason than they knew any against him, many who opposed Morton are friendly to this man, yet it's like to be a great question, and though Leslie have declared in the general, that he sees the King ill used, that he served his country to settle religion, which being done he would now serve his King against those that would totter his crown, this is very certain that he hath spoken very much to this sense, but whether it be in earnest or to get an Earldom that I cannot tell

always I believe the best, because most reason is on that side, and the soldiers here are generally displeased, for now they have done with them they pay them not, but remain in their debt to keep them in awe, 'tis said they will within a day or two petition the Parliament, and Leslie will appear there with them and according to their answer we shall hear more of their minds. The time of our return is most uncertain, there being no business yet near agreed since we came, all lies asleep at present but this of the officers of state, which I am clear of opinion with you in, what is done here will be a rule to us, and I think it most just that a nation from whom a King enjoys all those benefits which ours affords him, should receive from him at least as much as another place which yields him nothing but trouble. And the reason they give of absence is but a flourish, for they first say 'tis their right, and then that for exchange they would not press it; Our Commissioners here have all that may be to make their stay pleasing, first business goes right, next they are daily feasted, yet for all that I hear they are weary, yet will not stir above a day or two before the King come away, which if he keep his promise to dispatch all business first, will not be yet these two months, which is a grievous punishment to one that hath learned from Madame de Chevreuse de né se pas tourmenter pour le bien publique, which if reason would have satisfied this people would have settled much to their advantage, but now it may be their pressure upon the King may turn it much to his, but it must be

with some hazard, which God keep us safe in that are here, for I fear all will not end in fair words ... I believe from the steerage of this Parliament you may make your judgment of ours ..."

Abbreviations used in notes:

BM	Manuscript Department of the British Museum.
Edinburgh	Manuscript Department of the National Library, Edinburgh.
Glenurquhy	Breadalbane Papers - Glenurquhy Letters. Register House, Edinburgh.
Nicholas	Egerton Mss - Nicholas Papers - Correspondence, Volume I, British Museum.
Hailstone	Hailstone Collection of Tracts, Dean and Chapter Library, York
Th Tr	Thomason Tracts. North Library, British Museum.
SPD	Calendar of State Papers (Domestic).
VSP	Calendar of State Papers (Venetian).
Clarendon	Clarendon's History of the Great Rebellion, ed. OUP 1840, Volume I.
Baillie	Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie. Bannatyne Club.
Exact Collection	An Exact Collection of all remarkable passages between the King's Majesty and his High Court of Parliament, December 1641 - March 1643.

Notes - Introduction.

1 SPD CCXCIV July 13, 1635. Proclamation for settling the Letter Office of England and Scotland.
2 SPD CCCXIV February 29, 1636. Information exhibited by the Attorney General against Sir Nicholas Stoddard.
3 "Chetwind" - The Civil Wars in England - 1633.
4 Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, VII p. 498.
5 Clarendon Book I pp. 32, 36, 48.
6 SPD CLXXV November 11, 1630. Order for the apprehension of Alexander Leighton.
7 SPD CLIV 1629? p. 142. Examination of James Nalton.
8 SPD CLXXXV February 19, 1631. George Lord Dupplin, Chancellor of Scotland, to Secretary Dorchester. SPD CLXXXVI March 9, 1631. The Company of Muscovia Merchants, now Adventurers of Greenland, to Sec. Dorchester.
9 SPD CCCXLIX March 1, 1637 The Journeymen Printers of London to Sir John Lambe, Dean of the Arches.
10 VSP January 29, 1638.
11 Clarendon Book II p. 46.
12 Colonial Entry Book IV pp. 66-7.
13 Clarendon Book III p. 77.
14 Spalding - History of the Troubles - I p. 87.
15 Samuel Butler - Harleian Miscellany - VII p. 461.

16 Dugdale - Short View of the Late Trouble - p. 59.
17 Burnet - Lives of the Hamiltons - Introduction.
18 Clarendon Book VII p. 470.
19 SPD CCCCLI May 5, 1640 Earl of Northumberland, Lord General, to Viscount Conway, commander of the horse and Deputy General.
20 Clarendon Book III p. 79.
21 Ibid.
22 Dugdale - Short View of the Late Trouble - p. 60.
23 Burnet - Lives of the Hamiltons - Introduction.
24 Somers Tracts IV p. 399.
25 Spalding - History of the Troubles - I p. 45.
26 "Chetwind" - The Civil Wars in England - Introduction.

Notes - Chapter I.

1 Spalding - History of the Troubles - I p. 17.
2 SPD CCCXXIX 1636? p. 260. The King to Archbishop Laud.
3 SPD CLXXIV October 15, 1630. Laud to Dr. Smith, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford.
4 Baillie I pp. 13, 17, 19. Rothes' Relation p. 18.
5 Rothes' Relation p. 5.
6 Rothes' Relation p. 6.
7 Rothes' Relation p. 8.
8 VSP 24 No. 336.
9 Rothes' Relation pp. 21-2.
10 Ibid.
11 VSP 24 No. 282.
12 VSP 24 No. 567.
13 VSP 24 No. 300.
14 VSP 24 No. 375.
15 VSP 24 No. 387.
16 Baillie I p. 158. Edinburgh 1908 - Baillie Correspondence. Manuscript copy of the letters to William Spang.
17 Hamilton Papers, Camden Society: November 27, 1638.
18 Rothes' Relation, pp. 120, 144.
19 Guthry - Memoirs of Scottish History p. 40.
20 Burton - History of Scotland VI p. 497.
21 Rothes' Relation, p. 137.
22 Gordon - History of Scots Affairs I p. 37 and II p. 509.
23 Rothes' Relation p. 139.
24 Rothes' Relation pp. 122, 138.
25 Baillie I p. 99.
26 Hamilton Papers, Camden Society: October 5, 1638.
27 Baillie I pp. 11, 48, 72, 73.
28 Rothes' Relation pp. 156, 170.
29 Baillie I p. 101. Rothes' Relation p. 182.
30 Gordon - History of Scots Affairs - II p. 63.
31 Spalding - History of the Troubles - I p. 57.
32 Gordon - History of Scots Affairs - II p. 59.
33 Rushworth, Historical Collections II p. 517. Burnet, Lives of the Hamiltons, p. 111.
34 Gordon - History of Scots Affairs II p. 37. Napier - Memorials of Montrose pp. 102-6.
35 Dugdale - Short View of the Late Trouble p. 53.
36 Baillie I, p. 111.
37 SPD Additional, 1629-45 July 1638, p. 585. Paper by Henry de Vic, who had held various ambassadorial posts in Europe, on the state of affairs in Scotland.

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38 SPD CCCXCIII June 28, 1638. A letter in French signed G.T. and endorsed "From a Jesuit to his superior".

39 SPD CCCXCIII July 9, 1638. Statement of Gervase Clifton.

40 SPD CCCXCV July 20, 1638. John Pym to John Wandesford, His Majesty's agent and consul at Aleppo.

41 SPD CCCXCIII June 20, 1638. Edward Nicholas to Admiral Sir John Penington. At this time Clerk of the Council and Secretary to the Admiralty, Nicholas was promoted Secretary of State at the time of the King's 1641 journey to Scotland.

42 VSP October 1, 1638.

43 VSP October 8, 1638.

44 Clarendon Book II p. 49.

45 Burnet - Lives of the Hamiltons - Introduction

46 VSP 24 No. 449.

47 VSP 24 Nos. 558, 565.

48 VSP 25 No. 113.

49 Edinburgh 2688 "Collection of proceedings in the House of Commons, 1640-42", with several miscellaneous items appended, including "The Scots Scouts Discoveries", in which this quotation occurs. See Appendix to Chapter II.

50 SPD CCCCXXI May 24, 1639. Sir Henry Mildmay, M.P., Master of the King's Jewel House, to Windebank.

51 Baillie I pp. 188 - 190.

52 Burnet - Lives of the Hamiltons

53 Baillie I p. 194.

54 Harleian Miscellany V p. 545.

55 VSP 24 Nos. 596, 605, 647.

56 SPD CCCCXXI May 16, 1639. Edward Norgate to Robert Read, from Newcastle. Read was Windebank's secretary and nephew, Norgate was Clerk of the Signet.

57 SPD CCCCXVIII April 21, 1639. Henry de Vic to Sec. Windebank, from Newcastle.

58 SPD CCCCXIII February 16, 1639. Enclosed in the Mayor of Newcastle's report to Sec. Windebank.

59 SPD CCCCXIII February 20, 1639. "Information of Edward Urwen" enclosed in the Mayor of Newcastle's second report.

60 SPD CCCCXIII February, 1639. Read's statement of his proceedings.

61 SPD CCCCXIII February 19, 1639. James Steward to Thomas Chapman at the Buck's Head, St. Martin's Lane, London.

62 SPD CCCCXVIII April 30, 1639. Robert Read to his cousin Thomas Windebank.

63 Baillie I p. 199.

64 Baillie I p. 200. VSP 24 No. 647.

Notes - Chapter I.

65 Baillie I p. 208.
66 Spalding - History of the Troubles p. 166.
67 "Chetwind" - Civil Wars of England - 1639.
68 Clarendon Book II p. 52.
69 Gordon - History of Scots Affairs IV p. 198.
70 SPD CCCCXX May 6, 1639. Mary Countess of Westmoreland to Windebank.
71 Clarendon Book II p. 52.
72 Diary of Johnston of Wariston, Scottish Historical Society p. 63.
73 Spalding - History of the Troubles I p. 166.
74 BM Additional Mss, 38847, Hodgkin Papers Vol. II, "Berwick" section No. III.
75 Clarendon Book II p. 51.
76 Spalding - History of the Troubles I p. 165.
77 Dugdale - Short View of the Late Trouble p. 54.
78 SPD CCCCXXIV June 19, 1639. Edward Norgate to Robert Read.
79 Hamilton Papers, Camden Society Nos. 36, 40. Burnet - Lives of the Hamiltons p. 148.
80 Clarendon Book II p. 53.
81 Baillie I p. 218.
82 VSP 24 Nos. 670, 674.
83 Clarendon Book II p. 53.
84 VSP 24 No. 683.

Notes - Chapter II.

1 Clarendon Book II p. 55.
2 Dugdale - Short View of the Late Trouble p. 55.
3 Hailstone.
4 Th Tr E 239-1. "A Second Discovery by the Northern Scout of the chief activities of the malignant party in the County of York" July 1640.
5 SPD CCCCXXX October 8, 1639. Bishop Hall of Exeter to Laud.
6 SPD CCCCXXVIII August 6, 1639. The King to the Bishops of Scotland.
7 Edinburgh 2263 - "Events, 1635-42", appended to "Salt and Coal Records", anonymously.
8 Baillie I p. 230.
9 Hamilton Papers, Camden Society, 1880, p. 98.
10 Burnet - Lives of the Hamiltons p. 148.
11 Clarendon Book II p. 53.
12 Hardwicke State Papers, II p. 141.
13 Baillie I p. 226.
14 VSP 24 No. 700.
15 Spalding - History of the Troubles I pp. 189 - 190.
16 SPD CCCCL April 11, 1640. The King to the Earl of Leicester, Ambassador in Paris: Windebank to the same.
17 SPD CCCCXLI January 11, 1640. Archbishop Neile of York to Windebank.
18 SPD CCCCLXI July 30, August passim, 1640.
19 SPD CCCCL April 6, 1640. Sir William Bellasys, Sheriff of Durham, to Sec. Vane.
20 SPD CCCCLI April 29, 1640. Viscount Conway, Commander of the Horse, to Laud.
21 Ibid. Viscount Conway to Strafford and Northumberland.
22 SPD CCCCXLVII September 11, 1640. John Newport to Nicholas.
23 SPD CCCCXXVI December 31, 1639. Sir Michael Ernle to Windebank.
24 SPD CCCCXXV December 10, 1639. Sir Michael Ernle to Windebank.
25 Ibid.
26 SPD CCCCXLVI February, 1640. Edward Bolde to Windebank from Gracechurch Street.
27 Glenurquhy, 7 April, 1640.
28 Baillie I p. 242.
29 Spalding - History of the Troubles I p. 191.
30 BM Additional Mss, 28011, 48, Rothes to Pembroke.
31 SPD CCCCL May, 1640, passim.
32 SPD CCCCL April 13, 1640. J. Grunton to W. Dell, Laud's secretary.
33 SPD CCCCXLVI February 28, 1640. Deposition of Wm. Scott of Balwearie that James Colville, recently in touch with Laud and Rothes, told him the Scots Commissioners spread pamphlets.
SPD CCCCLIV March 18, 1640. Sir Michael Ernle to Windebank - "I am informed the Lord Loudon brought 500 books".

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34 SPD CCCCLIV May 21, 1640. William Marquis of Douglas to his cousin Archibald Guthrie.
35 SPD CCCCLIV May 22, 1640. Sir Michael Ernle to Windebank.
36 SPD CCCCL April 11, 1640. Ernle to Windebank.
37 SPD CCCCL April 8, 1640. Ernle to Windebank.
38 Anthony Wood - Athenae Oxonienses II p. 56.
39 SPD CCCCLIII May 10, 1640. "Information for the Government".
40 Glenurquhy June 20, 1640.
41 Wade - Life of Pym.
42 BM Harleian Mss 4931-87. "Parliamentary Proceedings".
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
45 Clarendon Book II p. 60.
46 SPD CCCCLII May 10, 1640 "Information for the Government" and "Interrogatories based upon the Information".
47 VSP 25 No. 69.
48 Glenurquhy May 1640.
49 SPD CCCCLIX July 6, 1640. Windebank to Conway.
50 SPD CCCCLVII June 14, 1640. Ernle to Windebank.
51 SPD CCCCLVIII June 25, 1640. Elizabeth Maxwell to Lady Douglas, enclosed in a letter from Ernle to Windebank.
52 SPD CCCCLVII June 13, 1640. Northumberland, possibly to Conway.
53 SPD CCCCLXVI September 7, 1640. Sheriff Alderne of Herefordshire to Nicholas.
54 SPD CCCCLXV May 21, 1640. Sheriffs Thorold and Markham of Lincoln to the Earl of Lindsay, Lord Lieutenant of Lincoln.
55 SPD CCCCL April 10, 1640. Northumberland to Vane.
56 SPD CCCCLVII June 16, 1640. Northumberland to Conway.
57 VSP 25 No. 69.
58 SPD CCCCLIII May 11, 1640. The Deputy Lieutenants of Kent to the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant of Kent.
59 Clarendon Book II p. 61.
60 SPD CCCCXXXII November 25, 1639. Patrick Ruthven Lord Ettrick to the King.
61 SPD CCCCXXXII November 19, 1639. The same to the same.
62 Ibid.
63 SPD CCCCLVIII June 27, 1640. Nathaniel Darrell, Governor of Guernsey, to Captain Carteret, Governor of Jersey.
64 Baillie I p. 247.
65 Baillie I p. 255.
66 Glenurquhy July 29, 1640.
67 SPD CCCCLX July 23, 1640. "Advertisements out of Scotland transmitted by Lord Conway."
68 Baillie I p. 255.
69 Baillie I p. 257.

Notes - Chapter II.

70 Baillie I p. 257.
71 Ibid.
72 SPD CCCCLXIV August 24, 1640. Conway to Vane, and August 21 - 22, 1640, the same to the same.
73 Lilly - Several Observations upon the Life and Death of King Charles I, in "Select Tracts relating to the Civil Wars".
74 SPD CCCCLXV August 29, 1640. Examination by Windebank of John Fryer, carpenter, and by Sir John Lambe and Dr. Robert Sibthorpe of Sam. Lynell of Kettering, Northampton.
75 SPD CCCCXXIX September 27, 1639.
76 Ibid.
77 Edinburgh 2688 - "The Scots Scouts Discovery".
78 Baillie I p. 260.
79 SPD CCCCLXIV August 15, 1640. Sir John Clavering, Deputy Lieutenant of Northumberland, reporting to Conway.
80 SPD CCCCLXIV August 21, 1640. The same to the same.
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2 Clarendon Book IV p. 123.
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Bibliography

In the main the text draws upon collections of contemporary documents, in manuscript and in print. Particularly valuable throughout the period are the documents in the Calendar of State Papers (Domestic), comprising a wide range of source and subject: the informed, intelligent reports from Venetian Embassy to Senate in the Calendar of State Papers (Venetian): Baillie's detailed and authoritative picture of the Scottish side: and the reflection of events and opinions in the multitudinous Thomason Tracts. The comments of Nicholas' correspondents, in the Egerton Mss, on the course of the King's visit to Edinburgh in 1641, are also extremely revealing.

It was hoped that the surviving documents of the Clan Campbell, newly made available, would also reveal much; but a prolonged study of these numerous letters failed to yield anything but the discreetest of correspondence. These documents are now available in Register House, Edinburgh, under the title of "The Breadalbane Papers", but they are not yet either catalogued or classified. Similarly, the Hailstone Collection of tracts in the Dean and Chapter Library of York has not been catalogued, nor classified except for a rough arrangement by myself in chronological order. Some of these tracts are without date or title, but internal evidence dates them sufficiently clearly.

Manuscript

Edinburgh National Library Mss Collection:

1-78 - Morton Papers
1939 - Miscellaneous Letters
2263 - Salt and Coal Records, with appendix "Events, 1635-42"
2687-8- "Collection of Proceedings in the House of Commons, 1640-42"
3468 - "A Chronicle of the Civil Wars", by "Archibald Law". The author maintains a practical outlook: his sympathies, at first Presbyterian, later royalist, seldom affect his account of developments.

Register House, Edinburgh, Mss Collection:

May Papers
Letters and Private Collections of Maxwell of Orchiston, 1639 - 1707
Cunningham Letters 1606 - 1712
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Breadalbane Papers.

All these collections contain only occasional comments on and references to Anglo-Scottish feeling, but the Breadalbane Papers include, in the Glenurquhy Letters, long accounts of the events of the period, written to an invalid Campbell laird by one of Argyll's following in the Assemblies, and therefore interesting, though restrained.

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Harleian Mss. 455. "Articles of the Treaty between The Commissioners of England and Scotland, A.D. 1640 and 1641, being the book of Sir John Burroughs, and in divers places noted by him to be fuller than the printed book."

456. "Minutes of what passed in the Great Council of the Peers at York from 25 September to 27 October 1640, taken by Sir John Burroughs."

457. "Minutes of the treaty between the English and Scots, held at London from 10 November 1640 to 12 August 1641, by Sir John Burroughs, with some few loose papers relating to the same."

4931. 300 miscellaneous papers: proclamations, speeches, petitions and reports; a very accurate collection with a good deal of detail.

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Clarendon's hatred of the Scots was a twofold impulse, urging him to paint them as the villains of the piece, but more strongly inclining him to belittle their part, grudging them any influence. Though his recollections were by no means reliable on all subjects, on that of Scottish influence they are always well within the truth.
Row was an active Presbyterian, as Guthry was an Episcopalian, and both their works are coloured accordingly. The works of "Chetwind" and Dugdale appear to have been produced to praise the Restoration and are extremely biassed, valuable only as sidelights on royalist opinion. Wishart and Napier, though devoted to Montrose, were men of integrity, and reliable in fact if not in interpretation. Sir Philip Warwick's was a straightforward Cavalier record, while Sir Symonds Dewes saw only himself and the common law. His mass of detail is accurate, except where he credited himself with overmuch influence on the course of events, which he never properly grasped.
Gordon, a strong Royalist, had no reliable first-hand information and was apt to adopt pseudo-Court gossip at face value: he reflected the attitude of the Scottish country Royalist, as did Spalding, speaking, with more authority, especially for loyalist Aberdeen.

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The Memoirs of Bulstrode Whitelocke are even more personal in applicatior than the usual "memoirs", and thus any political subject introduced has a blind Parliamentary bias. So also has Nugent, who confesses a "veneration" for his subject, and so have Forster and Wade in their weak works on Pym. Brett and Hexter have written much more scientific studies of the man. Burnet, a Royalist, is concerned mainly to present

the Hamiltons in unjustifiably rosy colours. Wingfield-Stratford, a more modern and more fervent royalist, allows his enthusiasm to mislead his intelligence and knowledge.
More authoritative and accepted biographies are those by Wormald, Wedgwood, Traill and Trevor Roper, while the works by Gooch and Newton are most valuable in the background of this or any contemporary subject.